

THE REFORM ACT, 1832

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THE REFORM ACT, 1832

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE LATE

EARL GREY

WITH

HIS MAJESTY KING WILLIAM IV.

AND WITH

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR

FROM NOV. 1830 TO JUNE 1832

EDITED BY HENRY EARL GREY

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

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PREFACE.

DURING the whole of my father's administration he carried on a constant correspondence on public affairs with the King. Nothing of importance was done by the Government without being fully explained to His Majesty in the letters addressed to him by his Minister; while in those written by the King, or by his order, his opinions on the various questions brought under his notice, and the objections he sometimes felt to the advice offered to him, were stated without reserve. These objections again were met, and the policy of his confidential servants was defended when necessary, in the answers returned to him. This correspondence is now in my possession, and having applied for, and obtained, Her Majesty's gracious permission for that purpose, I have determined to publish so much of it as took place between my father's accession to office on the 22nd of November, 1830, and the passing of the Reform Act in the beginning of June, 1832. My principal object in doing so is to make the difficulties of the memorable struggle by which that great measure was carried, better understood than they have been.

None of the accounts of this struggle hitherto published can, I think, be regarded as satisfactory. Many of them are disfigured by misstatements, and misrepresentations arising from prejudice and passion on one side or the other; and even those which are written with commendable fairness are not free from serious errors, into which the authors have been betrayed by the want of sufficiently full and trustworthy information. In the interest of historical truth it is desirable, that the authentic record of the opinions and feelings of two of the principal actors in these remarkable transactions, furnished by their own letters written at the time, should be accessible to future historians. And this is also due to the memory of the late King and of my father, as the conduct and motives of both have been the subject of no little misrepresentation, which the light thrown upon them by these letters will help to dispel. With regard to my father, all that it becomes me to say is, that none who knew him can doubt that his letters only describe his real feelings in expressing so constantly, and so strongly, his sense of the responsibility imposed upon him by the post he held, his conviction that a Reform in the House of Commons was absolutely necessary for the welfare and even for the safety of the nation; and that it was, therefore, his duty to omit no exertion, and to shrink from no sacrifice in order to effect it; while he considered it no less his duty to preserve the fundamental principles and the character of our Constitution untouched in any amendments of it he might help to introduce. These feelings

and opinions, together with a very strong attachment to the King and devotion to his service, are to be traced in all his letters, and never ceased to guide his conduct through all the difficulties with which he had to contend.

As to the King, I think no impartial reader of his correspondence can fail to form from it a higher estimate of his character than that which is commonly received. His earnest desire to do what he believed to be his duty, his readiness to listen to those in whom he placed confidence,* and to consider their arguments even when most opposed to the opinions of his early life, are constantly shown in his letters. His determination never to allow his personal convenience or predilections to stand in the way of any arrangements proposed by his Ministers;—his consideration for them, and desire to spare them unnecessary labour, and to facilitate the performance of their duties;—his disinterestedness as shown by his refusal to make use of a sum of money to which he thought (though as it proved without reason) that his right might be doubtful,† and by the manner in which he acquiesced in the somewhat ungracious refusal of an outfit to the Queen,‡ are also most honourable to him. Even upon such matters as the apprehended interference of the House of Commons with respect to the Duchy of Lancaster, the attempt to take away existing Pensions, and the reduction of the salaries charged on the Civil

* See Sir H. Taylor's letter, No. 76.

† See letters, Nos. 46 and 48.

‡ Nos. 65 and 67.

List, though he expressed himself very strongly, it will be seen that his anxiety was never for his personal interests, but for the dignity and authority of the Crown. For maintaining these he considered himself responsible not only to his successors, but also to the nation, justly believing the nation to be deeply concerned in not allowing the position of the Sovereign to be lowered. Above all, his perfect honesty and truthfulness, and the sense he uniformly showed of its being his duty as a Constitutional King to give his unreserved support to his Ministers so long as they continued in his service, yet without ever becoming a partizan, are worthy of all admiration, especially when it is remembered that, before his accession to the throne, this duty had been by no means distinctly recognized even in principle, and had often been very openly disregarded in practice. His determination to give his full support to his Ministers did not however, as it will be seen, prevent him from pointing out to them any objections to which he thought the measures they recommended to him were open, nor from exercising his judgment as to accepting their advice. The letters supply abundant evidence of the conscientious industry with which he must have laboured to make himself master of the public questions of the day, so as to be able efficiently to perform in this respect his duty as Sovereign.

And considering what were the ideas and opinions which his education, his early years passed in the court of George the Third, and his whole subsequent

life, were calculated to form, it is matter of just surprise that he should have been found so equal to the arduous duties of Royalty in the very difficult times in which he was called upon to undertake them; that so much good sense should be displayed in his remarks upon public affairs; and that he should so generally have been right in his final judgment upon the practical questions he was required to decide. Even upon the great question on which he differed from his Ministers, and which led to their resignation,—the proposed creation of Peers after the defeat of the Government in the House of Lords on Lord Lyndhurst's motion in May, 1832,—there seems to me to be no just ground for the censure often thrown upon the King. A very large creation of Peers for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill would have been so great an evil, even in the judgment of those who advised it, that nothing but the dread of still greater evils would have induced them to propose it. It was natural, therefore, that the King should have shrunk from taking such a step, and should have thought it better to throw upon the Opponents of Reform the responsibility of endeavouring to form a new Administration to carry on the government of the country, in the circumstances created by their victory in the House of Lords. Nor can it be doubted that the result of the King's decision proved that it was far the best for the Nation that he could have adopted. If he had accepted the advice his Ministers were compelled to offer him, even the large creation of Peers they contemplated might have been

insufficient to enable them to carry the Bill satisfactorily through the Committee. And it would certainly have provoked a bitter and determined resistance in all the farther stages of the Bill, not only from those who had all along been its uncompromising enemies, but also from those who, with Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, had voted for its second reading, though they had opposed the former measure. The powerful party of the Opposition thus re-united, and not improbably reinforced by some of those who had hitherto voted for Reform, but who would have been alienated by the violence of the means taken to coerce the House of Lords, would have obstinately fought every detail of the Bill in Committee. To overcome this resistance, the Government might have been driven to a further creation of Peers. But even this expedient, destructive as it would have been to the character of the House of Lords and the balance of the Constitution, would have been of little avail to cut short a struggle which might have been almost indefinitely prolonged, and which would have excited such fierce passions both in the House and out of doors, that it is impossible to conjecture to what acts of even revolutionary violence they might have led.

All these dangers and evils, which might probably have ensued from His Majesty's adopting the advice offered to him, were avoided by the signal failure of the Opposition to form an Administration, when the opportunity of doing so had thus been given to them, owing to the overwhelming expression of indignation

which the attempt called forth, both in the House of Commons and in the country. A conviction (which probably nothing else would have produced) was thus forced upon them of the absolute necessity for their acquiescing in the passing of the measure.

In addition to the interests of historical truth, and to the object of doing justice to the late King and to my father, another reason for the publication of these letters is to be found in the circumstances of the present time. Parliament has now again to consider what was so justly called, in 1831, 'the perilous question of Reform.' It will not, therefore, be without advantage, that the arduous nature of the conflict by which Reform was then achieved, should be recalled to the minds of those who are old enough to remember it, and should be brought clearly under the notice of those who are too young to have a personal recollection of it, by a correspondence in which it is so vividly described. The events of those days are full of instruction for the present time. We may learn from them, on the one hand, that an absolute resistance to political changes, when the state of opinion and of the country requires them, is full of danger; and tends not to prevent changes from being accomplished, but to render it impossible that they should be as well considered, and as carefully framed, as they ought to be. On the other hand we may also learn, that when a change in the Constitution has to be carried, in spite of the determined resistance of the strongest party among the actual holders of political power, by the force of popular excitement, this force,

when once called into full action, is indeed irresistible, but is most dangerous from its being so difficult to control or direct. Hence both men of Conservative opinions and those who desire Reform, but desire also that the principles of our Constitution should be maintained, and that the country should not be exposed to the fearful risk of revolutionary violence, ought equally to draw from the experience of 1831-2 the conclusion, that it is their duty and their interest to endeavour to prevent Parliamentary Reform from again becoming the subject of a fierce party strife. And this is only likely to be accomplished by dealing with the question in a spirit of conciliation and mutual concession, with the view of carrying such amendments of our Constitution as may be found, after dispassionate deliberation, to be best calculated to promote not party objects, or the gratification of popular passions, but the true welfare of the nation at large.

Such are the reasons which have led me to resolve on publishing these letters, believing that, after the lapse of six-and-thirty years since the earliest of them were written, there is no valid objection to their being given to the world. It may be proper for me to add some further explanation with regard to the letters themselves, and to the manner in which they have been prepared for publication. Very few of the King's letters (only two or three short ones in the whole collection) are in his own handwriting. This arose from the difficulty he had in writing, owing to a rheumatic affection

in his hand.* His Majesty's letters were generally written for him, from his verbal instructions, by his private secretary, Sir H. Taylor, and he signed them after they had been read over to him and approved. A large proportion of the letters, however, it will be observed, were addressed to or written by Sir H. Taylor; but these letters are in fact no less a part of the correspondence between the King and my father than those which are so in form as well as in substance.

My father's letters, which were intended for the King's information, were often addressed to Sir Herbert Taylor, because they could be written in less time and with somewhat greater freedom than when the formal style had to be used, which was invariably adopted by his confidential servants in writing to the King himself. These letters (as Sir Herbert mentions more than once) were always shown to the King: in answering them the same form was naturally adopted, and Sir Herbert wrote in his own name; but, except in a very few instances in which he distinctly mentions that he is speaking for himself, and without authority, his letters professed to convey the King's views and opinions; nor can there be any doubt of their having done so correctly, from the complete identity his Ministers always found between those stated in Sir H. Taylor's letters on behalf of the King, and those expressed verbally by His Majesty himself, in the frequent audiences in which he was accustomed to discuss public affairs with them,

* See Sir H. Taylor's letter of January 23rd, 1831, No. 57, vol. i. p. 78.

and in which he showed the deep and intelligent interest he took in what was going on.

Perhaps it may be thought that this mode of carrying on the correspondence between the King and his Ministers must have given more influence than was right to His Majesty's private secretary ; and, undoubtedly, it might have been attended with much inconvenience, if the post had been held by a person capable of abusing the great trust reposed in him. But Sir H. Taylor stands far above any such suspicion ; and though it is scarcely possible that so able a man could perform the duties confided to him without exercising some influence over the mind of the King, it was my father's conviction that this influence was only used for the purpose of allaying the feelings of irritation created at times in His Majesty's mind, and of smoothing any difficulties that arose between him and his Ministers. I have often heard my father express his admiration of the manner in which Sir H. Taylor acquitted himself of the very difficult and delicate duties of his situation, and say that if the office of Private Secretary to the King had been held by a less honourable and high-minded man, the difficulty of carrying on the government would have been very greatly increased.

Perhaps Sir Herbert Taylor was too fond of writing, and thus added inconveniently to the labour imposed upon my father by his office. The necessity of returning full replies to the long letters so constantly addressed to him, of which, on some occasions, two and even three were received in a single day, was a very serious

increase to the burthen of the Prime Minister's business, which must at any rate, in such times, have been very heavy; but this inconvenience was more than compensated by the opportunity his correspondence with the King afforded, of meeting objections to the conduct of the Government which had arisen in His Majesty's mind, or been suggested to him by others, before they had become too deeply rooted to be removed. This was the more important, because there were persons having access to the King, who were eager to avail themselves of every opportunity of endeavouring to injure his Ministers in his opinion, and there was always a danger that such attempts might succeed, though it will be seen in the correspondence, that His Majesty checked them as far as he could.

My father's own letters were almost invariably written without any draft or rough copy, generally in great haste, frequently amidst constant interruptions: some of not the least important were written by him from the room where Cabinets had been held, before his colleagues had left him, in order that they might be shown to them before being sent. The Cabinet Minutes were generally written in the same manner, the originals in his own handwriting being usually sent to the King, and copies made for himself by his private secretary.

In preparing this correspondence for publication, I have omitted as many as I could of the letters of which the interest seems to have passed away. But, perhaps, the omissions on this ground are fewer than might have been desirable, from my having often found it difficult

PREFACE.

to make them, without destroying the correspondence of the letters, and also because some, which are of little interest in other respects, are not without value in throwing light on the relations existing between the King and his Minister. I have also omitted nearly all the letters or parts of letters, in which the conduct or character of individuals, or their claims on the favour of the Crown are discussed, because in such discussions there was necessarily much that would give pain to the person referred to, or to their surviving friends and relations. Almost the only exception I have made from this rule is in the case of the letters relating to the grant of Lord de Saumarez's peerage. These I have not omitted, because I think they are honourable to the King and to his Minister, and contain nothing to wound the feelings of the family of Lord de Saumarez. The King, in the first instance, refused to allow this peerage to be granted, not from personal dislike to the officer recommended to him, but because he erroneously believed that Sir J. Saumarez had, on an important occasion, so failed in the performance of his professional duty, as to make it improper that this honour should be conferred upon him. My father thought it his duty, in justice to a distinguished officer, to combat this opinion of the King's, which he did much more strongly in conversation than in writing. At length, though with much difficulty, he succeeded in convincing His Majesty that he had been mistaken, when the King at once withdrew his refusal, which had been most acutely felt by Sir James Saumarez as a slur on the high character he so justly bore in the Navy.

While I have endeavoured to show all due respect to the feelings of individuals, I have not thought it right, on this ground, to omit even severe remarks on the public, as distinguished from the private, conduct of those who took an active part in political affairs at the time. To have done so would have destroyed much of the value of the correspondence, especially as a record of the motives and considerations which determined the measures of the Ministers. And though, in some of his letters, my father used strong language, and, perhaps, may have occasionally taken a more unfavourable view of the conduct of his political opponents than he might have adopted, when looking back at it, after the heat of the struggle was over, every candid reader will make allowance for warmth of expression in letters written in a time of so much excitement, and with so little leisure for weighing the force of the words he used. I may be permitted to add, that while I believe so severe a political contest was never carried on, without some things being said and done by all the prominent actors in it, which, upon reflection, they must have regretted, much less allowance is required on this score for any undue severity in my father's judgment of his political opponents, than for the conduct on their part that provoked his censure.

I have also thought that it would not be right for me to omit expressions of opinion, on the part either of the King or my father, which may possibly jar on the minds of many readers of the present day. Such omissions would be inconsistent with historical truth ;

nor do I think that a full and fair record of their opinions and feelings as expressed by themselves at the time, can be otherwise than honourable to both William IV. and his Minister in the eyes of all candid judges, notwithstanding the great change which has since taken place in the ideas commonly accepted in the world on many political questions.

Besides the omissions I have considered it advisable to make in printing this correspondence, there are a good many occasioned by some letters not having been copied, or the copies having been lost. Among these are the greater part of the letters written by my father to the King to inform him of the proceedings of the House of Lords. After every debate of importance, however late he might get home, or however much he might be fatigued, my father never omitted writing to the King an account of what had taken place, before going to bed. But his private secretary was rarely in attendance when he returned from the House of Lords, and he did not usually think it necessary to have letters of this kind sent back to him to be copied, so that they have not in general been preserved. A few letters are also missing, which from the importance of the matters they relate to must certainly have been copied, though no copies of them are now to be found. I have pointed out one or two cases of this kind in notes. I have, however, avoided adding more notes than I have considered indispensable, being anxious that the writers of the letters should speak for themselves without comment from myself. The notes I have given are therefore

strictly confined to statements of fact which have seemed to me to be wanted for a clear understanding of the correspondence. I have even abstained from calling attention to those cases in which these letters, if carefully read, supply a decisive contradiction of erroneous statements which have been confidently put forth, as to what happened on some important occasions.

Letters written in the manner I have described those of my father to have been (and though with somewhat less force the remark applies to those of the King and Sir H. Taylor, which were also often written in haste), cannot be expected to be free from obscurities and inaccuracies of expression which would no doubt have been corrected had the letters been revised by the writers ; but I have not thought myself at liberty to make even the slightest correction, except in cases where the mistake is quite obviously a mere slip of the pen.

I have only to add that I have confined this publication to the letters written from the time of my father's accession to office till just after the passing of the Reform Act. I find no correspondence of the slightest consequence between my father and the King in the few days which intervened between the resignation of the former Ministers and the completion of the new Administration. This, I believe, is to be accounted for by the fact, that almost all my father's communications with the King respecting the proposed arrangements were made verbally : if any letters were written on the subject, they must have been lost or destroyed. I have

not continued the publication beyond the giving of the Royal Assent to the English Reform Bill, except by the insertion of two or three letters which, though later in date, belong to the preceding discussions, partly because it was unnecessary to go further for my object of throwing light on the struggle for Reform, partly because it might not as yet be quite convenient to publish the correspondence that took place on some of the questions that arose in the two last years of my father's administration, after the subject of Reform had been disposed of. I have included in this collection all the letters written in the period it embraces, except those omitted for the reasons I have mentioned, because the struggle for Reform was much affected by the discussions on other public questions which arose during its progress.

GREY.

HOWICK : *December, 1866.*

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

1830.

NO.		PAGE
1.	Earl Grey to the King, Nov. 23, enclosing Cabinet Minute as to measures to be adopted for restoring peace in the country	1
2.	The King to Earl Grey, Nov. 23, in reply, approving proposed measures. Remarks respecting Militia and Police	3
3.	The King to Earl Grey, Nov. 26. Will see Lord Grey. His Ministers to understand His Majesty's convenience is never to interfere with his attention to public business	5
4.	The King to Earl Grey, Nov. 27, suggesting arrangements respecting Ordnance department	6
5.	Earl Grey to the King, Nov. 27. Change in constitution of Ordnance department would require time for consideration	8
6.	The King to Earl Grey, Nov. 27. His Majesty does not wish to embarrass Lord Grey	8
7.	The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 1. Alarm excited by Lord Holland's observations respecting the Duchy of Lancaster. The King's jealousy of Parliamentary interference with respect to it	9
8.	Earl Grey to the King, Dec. 1, reassuring His Majesty as to the intentions of his Ministers with respect to the Duchy of Lancaster	12
9.	The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 1. His Majesty's satisfaction with Lord Grey's letter	14

NO.	PAGE
10. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 2. Outfit for the Queen, enclosing copy of letter to the Duke of Wellington respecting it	11, 15
11. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Dec. 3. Reply to the above	16
12. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 4, enclosing copy of the Duke of Wellington's letter	17
13. Cabinet Minute, as to measures for restoring tranquillity	18
14. The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 4, approving measures proposed	19
15. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 7. Purchase of Jewels for Queen Charlotte, precedent for outfit to Queen	19
16. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 10. The King proposes that Mr. Stanley should be returned for Windsor	20
17. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 19, enclosing letter from Sir H. Blackwood, asking for appointment in the Ordnance	21
18. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Dec. 20. Reply to the above. Arrangements proposed with reference to Ordnance department	21
19. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Dec. 21. Ordnance arrangements. Notice in the House of Commons as to Duchy of Lancaster. Account received of Mr. O'Connell's entry into Dublin. Trades Union at Manchester	23
20. Earl Grey to the King, Dec. 21. Archbishop of Canterbury's proposal of a form of prayer. Deanery of Chester. Ordnance arrangements	25
21. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 21. King's approval of Ordnance arrangements. Appointments in the Household. Hardship of depriving Naval Officers holding such appointments of their half-pay	26
22. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 22. Notice of Motion in the House of Commons, respecting Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. O'Connell's entry into Dublin. Trades Union assemblages. Application to the King for a loan. Suggestion as to giving greater accommodation to Charles X. in Holyrood House	28
(Enclosure.) The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 22. Approves proposal submitted to him. Duchy of Lancaster	29
23. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Dec. 22. Application for a	

THE FIRST VOLUME.

Peerage. Case of Naval Officers holding Naval appointments. Ordnance and Household appointments. Mr. Stanley advised to abandon scrutiny and petition against Mr. Hunt's return for Preston. King's offer of Windsor	30
24. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 23. The application for a Peerage. Case of Naval Officers in the Household. Lord Falkland's appointment. Mr. Stanley's proposed return for Windsor	32
25. Earl Grey to the King, Dec. 23. Appointment of Captain Duncan as Storekeeper of the Ordnance. Militia to be embodied: Ballot required, and Council necessary. Better accounts from manufacturing districts. Less good from Ireland. Adjournment of the two Houses not to extend beyond the 4th of February	35
26. The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 24. Approves Captain Duncan's appointment. Militia and Yeomanry. Council at Brighton. Accounts from Ireland and manufacturing districts	35
27. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 24. Invitation to the Pavilion. Question as to amending Act of Parliament respecting half-pay of Naval Officers	36
28. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 25. Transmits paper on the Militia, by Sir R. Jackson	37
29. Earl Grey to the King, Dec. 30, enclosing Minute of Cabinet as to state of Ireland, and measures to be taken	39
30. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 30. Reasons for preferring an augmentation of the regular Army to embodying the Militia	40
31. The King to Earl Grey, Dec. 31. Approving of measures proposed by the Cabinet. Necessity of caution as to the Militia	42

1831.

32. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 11. Reasons for not having written to His Majesty for some days. Conduct of the Government in Ireland. Arrangements respecting the	
--	--

CONTENTS OF

command of the troops in Ireland, and the seat for Windsor. Preparation of measures for Parliament . . .	43
33. The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 12. Approves of proposals submitted to him. His confidence in his Ministers, and especially in Lord Grey	46
34. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 12. Lord Grey's longer silence then usual not taken amiss by His Majesty. King's health good. His anxiety as to proceedings in Parliament, and the maintenance of the authority of the Government, and his sense of the importance of Lord Grey's services. Mr. Hunt's failure	47
35. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 12. Resignation of Chief Baron. Usual pension to him, and appointment of Lord Lyndhurst to succeed him. Convicts at Winchester, except two, recommended to mercy. Two fires in Wiltshire	49
36. The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 13. Approves proposals submitted to him	51
37. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 13. Gratified by letters received. News from Ireland not pleasant; but confidence that difficulties may be overcome. King's anxiety as to what may happen in Parliament reasonable. The perilous question that of Parliamentary Reform. Hopes before long to submit measure to His Majesty. With his sanction little fear of carrying it. Alternative an afflicting one	51
38. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 13. Gratitude for His Majesty's letter. Encloses letters from Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Ponsonby. Remarks upon them . . .	52
39. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 14, enclosing King's answer. His Majesty's feelings about Reform, and his confidence in Lord Grey	54
40. The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 14. Returns letters from Lord Anglesey and Lord Ponsonby. His Majesty's opinion as to Ireland. The payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Belgium	55
41. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 14. Encloses anonymous letter respecting Sir W. Fremantle and Sir A. Barnard. Sends a book brought by M. de Choiseul . .	57

NO.	PAGE
42. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 15. Returns anonymous letter sent to him with a statement in refutation of it	60
43. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 15. His Majesty's opinions respecting Ireland and Belgium. Possible necessity of proposing to suspend Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Importance and difficulty of paying the Roman Catholic Priests there. Duchy of Luxemburg. Opinion respecting it expressed to the Prince of Orange	64
44. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 15. Expression of the King's confidence gratifying. Fear that His Majesty may think Lord Grey's views as to the Parliamentary Reform required too extensive. Measure ought to be one on which the Government can stand. Disadvantage of discussing the subject in such difficult times; but unavoidable. Consequences that would follow from attempting to postpone it	65
45. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 16. Great interest taken by the King in the correspondence respecting Reform. His Majesty's apprehensions. Lord Grey's communications have gone far to allay them. Opinions of the King on the subject	66
46. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 16. Question, whether certain sums should be paid into the Privy Purse. Hopes his letter about Reform will be satisfactory. Has encouraged His Majesty to broach the subject instead of brooding over it	68
47. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 17, encloses letter from Lord Anglesey, with list of persons proposed for appointment as Lords-Lieutenants of Irish counties	69
48. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 17. Right of the King to the money adverted to in Sir Herbert's letter. Parliamentary Reform	70
49. The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 17. Persons proposed for office of Lord-Lieutenant in Irish counties. Approves Proclamation against seditious meetings and proceedings against Messrs. O'Connell and Steel. Measures for the improvement of Ireland	71
50. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 18. The King has been	

NO.	PAGE
	pleased with letters respecting money arising from hereditary revenues and Parliamentary Reform 72
51.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 19. Answer respecting anonymous letter satisfactory; but no doubt of imprudent conversation at the Speaker's, and belief of the Opposition that a blow may be struck at the Government through the Court. Pamphlet on the late Revolution in France 73
52.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 20. Measures for augmenting Naval force 74
53.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 21. King approves measures proposed. Arrest of Mr. O'Connell 75
54.	The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 21. Death of Lord Sydney. Duke of Sussex to succeed him as Ranger of Hyde Park 75
55.	Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 22. Duke of Sussex accepts Rangership. Neutrality of Belgium 76
56.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 22. The King's annoyance at the Secretary-at-War's contemplating the reduction of the Riding establishment. Recommends it to Lord Grey's protection 77
57.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 23. Accounts for delay of King's answers to last letters. King only signs his letters. The appointment of the Duke of Sussex. Neutrality of Belgium 78
58.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Jan. 24. The Riding establishment. Belgium. Count Flahault's arrival from Paris. Conversation with him. Plan of Reform has been under the consideration of the Cabinet. Lord Grey proposes to submit it to the King personally. Thanks to His Majesty for giving the Guelphic Order to General Grey 79
59.	The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 24. Rangership of the parks. Communications from Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston 82
60.	The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 24. Guelphic Order given to General Grey. The Grand Cross of the Bath will be so on a fitting opportunity 83
61.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Jan. 25. Expresses the King's satisfaction that the plan of Reform will soon be ready to

- be submitted to him. Invites Lord Grey to the Pavilion. The Riding establishment. The King's eagerness on such questions. Affairs of Belgium, and choice of a Sovereign for that country 84
62. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 25. Explanation as to his letter respecting the Order given to General Grey. Renewed acknowledgments for King's approval of the services of his Ministers. Letter from Lord Anglesey. Ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland. Application from Captain Campbell for office of Groom of the Bedchamber 86
63. The King to Earl Grey, Jan. 26. Letter respecting Guelphic Order to General Grey. Union of bishoprics. Approves contemplated ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland. Situation of Groom of the Bedchamber 88
64. Earl Grey to the King, Jan. 27. Letter from Lord Anglesey. Lord Grey's opinion as to Mr. O'Connell. Groomship of Bedchamber 90
65. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 3. Anxiety for the King's observations on the proposed measure of Reform. Reference to his interview with His Majesty on the subject. The Queen's outfit. Lord Grey's disappointment at being obliged to abandon the proposal 91
66. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 4. Disposition of both Houses on re-assembling. Letter from Lord Anglesey. Choice of a Sovereign for Belgium 92
67. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 4. Queen's outfit. Feeling of Their Majesties with respect to opposition made to it 93
68. The King to Earl Grey, Feb. 4. Statement of His Majesty's opinions on Parliamentary Reform, and on the measure proposed by his Ministers 94
69. Earl Grey to the King, Feb. 5. King's letter on the measure of Reform gratifying. The question of Ballot. The county franchise. The census of 1821 a sufficient basis for the measure 105
70. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 5. Lord Anglesey's letter. Probable opposition to Reform. Belgium. Renewal of Princess Sophia's appointment as Keeper of Greenwich Park 107

NO.	PAGE
71. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 6. Lord Althorp's statement in the House of Commons as to outfit for the Queen	109
72. The King to Earl Grey, Feb. 6. Parliamentary Reform : points referred to in Earl Grey's letter	110
73. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 7. Apology for deferring answer to the King's letter. Satisfactory accounts from Paris. Pensions on the Civil List	112
74. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 8. Sends papers for the King. Corrects the King's impression as to views of the other members of the Cabinet respecting Ballot. Proceedings in the House of Commons respecting Pensions	114
75. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 8. The Queen's language on the refusal of an outfit. The King's approval of course taken respecting Belgium. His feelings on the question of Pensions, and towards Lord Grey. His Majesty's character	115
76. Earl Grey to the King, Feb. 8. Reform : sanguine hopes of carrying it through Parliament with His Majesty's support. Lord Grey participates in painful impression made on the King by disposition shown by the House of Commons. Things seem to be taking a better turn owing to Lord Althorp's firmness on the question of Pensions ; but a very unfortunate feeling exists on this subject	118
77. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 9. The King's strong feeling on the question of maintaining existing pensions	119
78. The King to Earl Grey, Feb. 9. No excuse was necessary for Lord Grey's delaying his answer to former letter. His Majesty surprised he is able to write so fully. The King satisfied with explanations on Reform Bill. Lord Grey has acted wisely in bringing the subject forward without delay. Misconception as to opinions of other members of the Cabinet on Ballot. Pensions on the Civil List. His approval of Lord Althorp's conduct on this question. Difficulty that may arise from it. Necessity for a high tone upon it ; but does not object to checks on abuse for the future	121
79. Lord Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 11. Outfit to the Queen.	

THE FIRST VOLUME.

xxix

NO.	PAGE
State of feeling on this and similar questions in the House of Commons and in the country. Letter from Lord Anglesey. Lord Grey going to Claremont . . .	124
80. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Feb. 12. Lord Anglesey's letter. The King's remarks on the state of feeling respecting Pensions. Windsor election	126
81. Earl Grey to the King, Feb. 14. The Budget. Satisfactory meeting at Lord Althorp's. Abandonment of proposed tax upon Transfers. Mr. O'Connell's withdrawal of plea of Not Guilty on first counts of indictment	127
82. Earl Grey to Sir Herbert Taylor, Feb. 15. Every thing had passed off well the previous evening in both Houses. Opposition to Lord Duncannon in Kilkenny	129
83. The King to Earl Grey, Feb. 15. Changes in the Budget. Lord Anglesey's communications gratifying to His Majesty	130
84. The King to Earl Grey, Feb. 19. Case of Representative Peers of Scotland and Ireland becoming British Peers . .	131
85. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Feb. 21. Proceedings of the Committee on the Civil List. State of public opinion on the subject. Prince Talleyrand and Madame de Dino. Indictment against Cobbett. Asks to see His Majesty . .	132
86. The King to Earl Grey, March 3. Question as to proceedings of Committees of House of Commons being constitutional. Lord Saye and Sele's appointment	134
87. The King to Earl Grey, March 3. Progress of debate on Reform in the House of Commons. Effect produced by the measure out of doors	135
88. Earl Grey to the King, March 4. Legal question shall be submitted to Law Officers. But inquiry of Committee rests on other grounds. Lord Saye and Sele cannot accept appointment.	136
89. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 4. Appointment of Lord of Bedchamber left to Lord Grey, to mark His Majesty's determination to support his Government. Reform: the King's feelings on the question	138
90. The King to Earl Grey, March 4, acknowledging Lord Grey's report of proceedings in both Houses. Lord Saye and Sele's communication overlooked	140

NO.	PAGE
91. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 4. Less favourable report of prospects of Reform Bill in the House of Commons. Country more and more favourable . . .	141
92. The King to Earl Grey, March 4. Proceedings of Committees of the House of Commons on Salaries and the Civil List. His Majesty's anxiety with regard to them increased by their connexion with the Reform Bill. His Majesty's reasons for agreeing to that measure; but bound to maintain the dignity of the Crown. Hence his communications. What he regards as details of Civil List, which ought to be exempt from the interference of the House of Commons . . .	143
93. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 5. King regrets grounds for apprehending failure of the Reform Bill. Aware of its serious consequences, but prepared to encounter them . . .	146
94. Earl Grey to the King, March 5. Explanation as to intentions of the Committee on the Civil List . . .	147
95. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 6. Reasons for the King's jealousy of proceedings of Committees of the House of Commons . . .	148
96. The King to Earl Grey, March 6. Reductions in the Civil List made by the Committee . . .	148
97. The King to Earl Grey, March 7. Progress of debate on Reform in the House of Commons. Proceedings in the House of Lords. Acceptance of Mr. Wynn's resignation of office of Secretary-at-War. Appointment of Sir H. Parnell to be Secretary-at-War . . .	150
98. The King to Earl Grey, March 7. Opinion of the Chancellor and Law Officers as to proceedings of Committees of the House of Commons . . .	152
99. The King to Earl Grey, March 8. Postponement of Lord Wharnccliffe's motion in the House of Lords . . .	153
100. The King to Earl Grey, March 9. Progress of the debate in the House of Commons . . .	153
101. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 10. Defeat of the Government in the House of Commons on the Timber Duties. Its bad effect. Still confident of majority for Reform Bill on second reading. Doubt as to carrying	

NO.		PAGE
	it through the Committee. Course to be taken to be considered by Cabinet. Question as to a dissolution of Parliament. What are the King's feelings upon it? .	154
102.	Earl Grey to the King, March 19. Defeat of the Government in the House of Commons; how caused; its probable consequences. Cabinet summoned to consider it	155
103.	The King to Earl Grey, March 20. His regret for what had occurred. His determination to support the measure of Reform unaltered, and his confidence in his Ministers unabated. Would lament the fall of his Government. Hopes that means to avert it may be found without a dissolution, to which he could not consent. Reasons for objecting to it. The state of the country. His earnest desire not to lose the services of Lord Grey and his colleagues	156
104.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 20. Determination of Ministers to carry on the government, notwithstanding the vote of the House of Commons. Remarks upon it. Prospect of defeat in Committee on Reform Bill. Question as to dissolving Parliament does not yet arise	160
105.	Earl Grey to the King, March 20. Result of the Cabinet. Civil List Bill	162
106.	The King to Earl Grey, March 20. Satisfaction at the determination of Ministers to retain their offices. His determination to support them, provided he is not called upon to dissolve Parliament	163
107.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 20. Why he had shown Lord Grey's letters referring to a dissolution of Parliament to the King. His Majesty's feelings upon that subject and towards Lord Grey	165
108.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 21. Attendance of Lord Belfast and Colonel Cavendish on His Majesty may interfere with their being in the House of Commons for the division on the Reform Bill. Course said to be contemplated by the Opposition. Condemnation of it	167
109.	Earl Grey to the King, March 21. Grateful acknowledgments for His Majesty's approbation and support in bringing forward measure of Reform. The King's ob-	

NO.	PAGE	
	jection to dissolving Parliament perceived by Lord Grey at Brighton. This led him to communicate with Sir H. Taylor. This not done without consideration of the state of the country and of Ireland. It was the personal act of Lord Grey; not a proposal only preparatory to one. Declaration of His Majesty's opinion commands respect of Ministers. Their wish to conform to it, but not to deprive them of privilege of submitting advice a painful necessity may require. Hope the necessity may not arise. Their feelings towards His Majesty. Lord Grey asks for audience	169
110.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 21. Pain occasioned to him by discussion on dissolution. Necessity of secrecy as to His Majesty's opinions	173
111.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 21. The King's anxiety about his answer to Lord Grey on the subject of a dissolution. Sir Herbert's opinion, that His Majesty's objection to the measure will prove final and conclusive	174
112.	The King to Earl Grey, March 21. Full statement of His Majesty's opinion with respect to a dissolution, and the reasons for it	177
113.	Earl Grey to the King, March 22. Debate in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Reform Bill	181
114.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 22, enclosing letter from Lord Durham. Three things to be impressed upon the King's mind	186
115.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 23. Regret that he was not at liberty to show Lord Durham's letter to the King. The King's readiness to listen to all that is urged against his opinions. Sir Herbert's habit of submitting everything to him. Remarks on the three points insisted upon by Lord Grey	187
116.	The King to Earl Grey, March 23. Rejoices that the second reading of the Reform Bill has been carried. Colonel Fox appointed Equerry.	194
117.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 23. Will show Lord Durham's letter and his own to the King. Removal from Household places of persons who had voted against the Reform Bill	195

NO.	PAGE
118. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 23. King's thanks for the communication of Lord Durham's letter . . .	196
119. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, March 23. Remarks on Sir H. Taylor's letter of 22nd. His Majesty's manner to Lord Durham less kind than to his other servants. Injurious effect on the division of the report of the King's veto on a dissolution	197
120. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, March 24. Reasons for King's strong objection to dissolving Parliament. His Majesty's satisfaction at Lord Grey's having acknowledged his good faith and sincerity. Not displeased with Lord Durham's letter: his manner not intentionally cold to him. Reports of King's objection to a dissolution not from his want of caution	202
121. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, April 5. Moderation shown by France with respect to Austrian advance to Bologna. Hopes of maintaining peace. Polish war. Accounts from Ireland. Dinner at the Mansion House . . .	207
122. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, April 6. His letter to General Kosciuszko in 1814. Polish war	209
123. The King to Earl Grey, April 10. Lord Ponsonby's private letter. Affairs of Belgium	210
124. Earl Grey to the King, April 11. Acknowledges His Majesty's letter. State of Ireland. Asks for an audience	213
125. The King to Earl Grey, April 11. State of Ireland. Will see Lord Grey	214
126. Earl Grey to the King, April 19. Letter from Lord Anglesey. General Gascoigne's motion on the Reform Bill. Expectation of favourable division	214
127. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, April 19. Character of General Gascoigne's motion. Its success would destroy all hope of carrying the Reform Bill in the present House of Commons. Case of distress submitted to His Majesty. Impatience in the City for a visit from their Majesties	215
128. The King to Earl Grey, April 19. State of Ireland. Approval of Lord Anglesey's conduct. Lord Grey's intimation of probable necessity for advising dissolu-	

NO.	PAGE
tion. His Majesty's objections to the measure unaltered. Hopes the division on General Gascoigne's motion may relieve Ministers from the necessity of proposing it. His Majesty's satisfaction with the manner in which they have carried on the business of the country. His hope that the further discussion of the Reform Bill might have been postponed . . .	218
129. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, April 19. Lord Grey's letter had been seen by the King. His Majesty distressed by the part of it relating to a dissolution . . .	220
130. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, April 19. Captain ——'s application. Demands on the Privy Purse . . .	221
131. Earl Grey to the King, April 20. Gratitude for the expression of His Majesty's confidence. Division on General Gascoigne's motion adverse to the Government. Cabinet summoned . . .	223
132. The King to Earl Grey, April 20. His Majesty's concern at the result of the division. Will see Lord Grey . . .	224
133. Minute of Cabinet, April 20. Advice to dissolve Parliament . . .	224
134. The King to Earl Grey, April 20. Must further consider his decision on the advice submitted to him . . .	226
135. Earl Grey to the King, April 20. Ministers do not wish to press for earlier decision than consistent with His Majesty's convenience and mature consideration . . .	226
136. The King to Earl Grey, April 21. Full statement of His Majesty's reasons for acquiescing in a dissolution, notwithstanding his objections to the measure. Relies upon his Ministers resisting measures to extend the principle of the Reform Bill. Urges their consenting to modifications which may conciliate opponents without impairing the measure . . .	227
137. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, April 21. Gratitude for the King's kindness. Cabinet to meet at 12 . . .	233
138. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey. King gratified by Lord Grey's letter, and desires that he will himself be the bearer of the answer of the Cabinet to his communications . . .	233
139. The King to Earl Grey, April 21. Will see Lord Grey	

THE FIRST VOLUME.

XXXV

NO.	PAGE
	next day at half-past 11, and hold a Council at 12.
	Note explaining circumstances under which this letter was written 234
140.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, April 24, enclosing ante-dated Minute of Cabinet 236
141.	The King to Earl Grey, April 24. Review of past proceedings and correspondence relating to the Reform Bill. The King's sentiments on the subject, and on the state of affairs 239
142.	Earl Grey to the King, April 25. Intention of the Ministers to revise the provisions of the Reform Bill; but must not detract from its efficiency. Evils that would follow from consenting to do so 247
143.	The King to Earl Grey, April 25. Acknowledges Cabinet Minute on His Majesty's letter of the 21st 248
144.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, April 26. Lord Mayor's invitation to be accepted for the 20th of May 248
145.	Earl Grey to the King, May 2. His Majesty's disapproval of the Lord Mayor expressed to Lord Melbourne. Lord Grey concurs in it. Ireland more tranquil. Dispatches from Lord Granville 249
146.	The King to Earl Grey, May 3. Conduct of the Lord Mayor. Regrets the City being again disappointed as to Royal visit. Information from Lord Granville satisfactory. His Majesty sends paper which appears treasonable. Passages in it recommending assassination of the Emperor of Russia 250
147.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 3. King's health a sufficient reason for his not going to the City 252
148.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, May 3. Placard attributed to the Lord Mayor a fabrication. City invitation. No contest in Northumberland. 253
149.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 3. Fabricated placard. The King's indignation. His Majesty persists in declining City invitation. Northumberland election 254
150.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 6. Progress of the elections. King's refusal of City invitation final. Presentation of kettle drums to Life Guards 255
151.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, May 6. Regret at the

NO.		PAGE
	King's determination respecting the City. The elections. Deaths of Sir Joseph Yorke and Captains Bradby and Young	256
152.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 7. Lord Melbourne to communicate the King's decision respecting the City to the Lord Mayor. The Elections. Accident to Sir Joseph Yorke	257
153.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, May 7. Lord Melbourne has written to the Lord Mayor. Elections. Grant of Lodge in Richmond Park to Lord and Lady Errol. Mode of giving orders for it. Hopes a different one will be taken in future	258
154.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, May 8. The elections. Bad effect produced by the King's declining City invitation. Pains taken to create a belief that His Majesty is really adverse to the measure of Reform	259
155.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 8. The elections. Mode of giving the King's commands as to the grant of the Lodge in Richmond Park	260
156.	Earl Grey to the King, May 9. Communications with the Lord Mayor. Letters from Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Proposes appointments to the Privy Council in Ireland. List of returns. Lord Grey will attend His Majesty	261
157.	The King to Earl Grey, May 13. Objection to Portuguese refugees residing at Gibraltar	262
158.	Earl Grey to the King, May 14. His Majesty's letter has been communicated to Lord Goderich, and instructions will be sent accordingly to the Governor of Gibraltar	263
159.	The King to Earl Grey, May 15. His Majesty's feelings as to the propriety of excluding Spanish or Portuguese refugees from Gibraltar. They have been strengthened by his apprehension of the revolutionary spirit in France and Belgium	264
160.	The King to Earl Grey, May 17. Full statement of His Majesty's views of the state of public opinion with reference to Reform, and his apprehensions as to the spirit that prevails among the people	265

NO.	PAGE
161. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, May 21. The Lord Advocate's letter. King's neck doing well	270
162. The King to Earl Grey, May 23. Account from Ireland. His Majesty will not delay further giving the Blue Riband to Earl Grey	271
163. The King to Earl Grey, May 28. His Majesty's anxiety at the prospect of renewal of Parliamentary discussions on Reform. Reference to his former letters. Earnest recommendation to his Ministers to endeavour to moderate opposition to the Bill by modifications not inconsistent with its principle	272
164. Earl Grey to the King, May 29. Reply to the above. Explanation of Earl Grey's opinions, and of the past conduct of the Ministers with respect to Reform. Principles which will govern Lord Grey's conduct for the future	276
165. The King to Earl Grey, May 29. Further discussion of the same subject. His Majesty has never urged a departure from the principle of the Bill	281
166. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, May 29, enclosing Cabinet Minute on the preceding letters	284
167. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, June 6. Return of Scotch Representative Peers. Votes of Peers connected with the Court. The Government deprived of support it ought to command. Satisfactory effect of Special Commission in Clare and Limerick. Unfavourable accounts from Merthyr Tydvil. Belgium. Distress in the west of Ireland. Battle of Ostrolenka	286
168. The King to Earl Grey, June 7. Election of Scotch Representative Peers. Notice of Lord Grey's remarks on the position of the Government as affected by the Court. His Majesty's earnest wish for the success of the Bill, but his apprehensions as to a collision between the two Houses	289
169. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, June 7. Preceding letter dictated by the King. Accounts from Ireland and Glamorganshire. Belgium	294
170. Earl Grey to the King, June 7. Gratitude for His Majesty's confidence and favour; but avowed hostility	

NO.	PAGE	
	of persons connected with the Court diminishes the strength of the Government in the House of Lords. The Reform Bill. Alterations suggested in it. House of Lords. Hope that a hostile amendment will not be carried the first day of the Session. Accounts from Merthyr Tydvil and from Ireland	295
171.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, June 7. Reasons for writing the preceding letter. No knowledge of the plans of the Opposition. Does not doubt they will try to thwart the Administration. Sends letter pressing demands on the Government	298
172.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, June 8. Probable that the Bishops will not be inclined to contend against a sweeping majority of the House of Commons	299
173.	The King to Earl Grey, June 18. Returns draft of Speech with remarks	300
174.	The King to Earl Grey, June 22. His Majesty is glad no amendment to the Address was moved in the House of Lords	300
175.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, July 2. Communication from the Duke of Cumberland. Question as to Coronation	301
176.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, July 5. Debate in the House of Commons. Question in the House of Lords as to the Coronation. The King going to Lord Hill's breakfast	302
177.	Earl Grey to the King, July 12. Proposed proceedings respecting the Coronation. Vacancies in the Order of St. Patrick. Acceptance by Government of Belgium of the propositions of the Conference	303
178.	The King to Earl Grey, July 12. Approves proposed proceedings as to Coronation. Acceptance of Belgian Government, and prospects of French elections satisfactory	304
179.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, July 16. Expenditure in Lord Chamberlain's department.	305
180.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, July 17. Reply to the above	306
181.	The King to Earl Grey, July 17. Arrangements re-	

NO.		PAGE
	specting Prince Leopold's annuity on his becoming King of the Belgians. Colonelcy of 5th Dragoon Guards	308
182.	Earl Grey to the King, July 18. Explanations respecting Prince Leopold. Alarming account of Earl Spencer's health. Hostilities between French squadron and Portuguese	309
183.	The King to Earl Grey, July 19. Reply to the above .	311
184.	Earl Grey to the King, July 19. Better account of Lord Spencer. Tithe Bills in the House of Lords. Communication as to Prince Leopold's intentions well received in the House of Lords	312
185.	The King to Earl Grey, July 29. Message for increased provision for the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria. New Ministers in Belgium	313
186.	Earl Grey to the King, July 3. Manner of passing the Bill for the Queen's dower	314
187.	Earl Grey to the King, Aug. 5. Letter from the King of Belgium. Orders for squadron to assemble in the Downs. Proceedings of the Conference. State of Dutch and Belgian armies	314
188.	The King to Earl Grey, Aug. 5. Crown to be worn by the Queen at the Coronation. The King's letter to Lord Melbourne on the state of the country, and augmentation of the army	316
189.	The King to Earl Grey, Aug. 5. Affairs of Belgium .	316
190.	Earl Grey to the King, Aug. 5. Crown for the Queen. Increase of the Army. Discussion in the House of Lords about Portugal. Lord Granville's dispatches. Acknowledges King's letter respecting Belgium. Hopes of an arrangement	320
191.	The King to Earl Grey, Aug. 6. Belgian affairs. Debate in the House of Lords about Portugal . . .	322
192.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Aug. 6. The King will be glad to see Lord Grey. His Majesty much pleased by the decided course taken by his Government in the Belgian business	323
193.	Earl Grey to the King, Aug. 9. Account of debate in the House of Lords on Lord Londonderry's motion on Belgium	324

NO.	PAGE
194. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 12. Baronetcy of Sir J. Macgregor. Conversation in the House of Lords respecting Coronation. Dutch army ordered to retire. Orders in consequence to Sir E. Codrington to return to Portsmouth. Marquis of Queensbury to be Lord of the Bedchamber. Baron Stockmar's letter to Lord Durham	326
195. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Aug. 13. Sir James Macgregor's baronetcy. The Coronation. Communications from the Hague. Lord Queensbury's appointment. Letter of Baron Stockmar. Hanoverian Resident at Vienna	328
196. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 14. Marquis of Queensbury's appointment. Apology for not attending levee. Letter of Hanoverian Resident at Vienna. Letter from Lord Granville. The Coronation	329
197. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Aug. 15. Lord Granville's letter. Lord Queensbury. The Coronation. Professions of the French Government. Necessity of insisting on withdrawal of French troops from Belgium	331
198. Earl Grey to the King, Aug. 18. Letters from the King of the Belgians. Instructions to Lord Granville. Duke of Bedford unable to carry the sceptre at the Coronation	333
199. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Aug. 21. Question of brevet or other boon to the Army and Navy on the Coronation	334
200. Earl Grey to the King, Aug. 22. Communication to the House of Commons respecting the Coronation through the Speaker. Settlement on the Queen. Brevet. Dispatch to Sir C. Bagot respecting retreat of Dutch army. Duke of Saxe Weimar and Lord William Russell. Lords-Lieutenants proposed for Irish counties	336
201. The King to Earl Grey, Aug. 23. Reply to the above	337
202. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 26. Interview with the Duke of Wellington respecting Belgian fortresses. Coronation. Letter from Archbishop of Canterbury. A Naval and a Military Peer to be made. Lord Howden proposed for the Army. Sir J. Saumarez for the Navy.	

NO.	PAGE
His services. Objection of His Majesty on account of ships lost in the Baltic	338
203. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Aug. 27. Homage of Bishops at the Coronation. Belgian fortresses. His Majesty approves of Peerage to Lord Howden for the Army. Sir J. Saumarez for the Navy still objected to	340
204. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 28. Naval Peers. Sir J. Saumarez. Belgian fortresses	342
205. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 29. Belgian fortresses. Duke of Leinster's refusal of the Irish riband	343
206. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Aug. 31. Affairs of Belgium and Holland. Interview with General Baudrand. Sentiments of French Government. Had not been able to attend levee. Going to Sheen. Hopes to see the King next week respecting promotions for the Coronation. Suggests, for the Navy, giving an Earldom to Lord Duncan. State of things in the House of Lords. Reported resolution of the Opposition	345
207. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Sept. 1. The King going to town. His Majesty's opinion respecting Belgium. King approves of making Lord Duncan an Earl. His regret at the state of things in the House of Lords; he is prepared to meet the difficulties that may arise . .	347
208. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Sept. 10, enclosing letter from King sanctioning the grant of a Peerage to Sir James Saumarez	349
209. Earl Grey to the King, Sept. 11, acknowledging the above	350
210. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Sept. 27. Death of Lord Durham's son. Asks to be excused from the levee. King's displeasure respecting the language of an officer about the House of Lords. Reasons for not noticing it as proposed by His Majesty	351
211. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Sept. 27. Reply to the preceding letter	353
212. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Sept. 27. His own condolence with Lord and Lady Durham. The King's feeling as to the language used about the House of Lords	355

NO.	PAGE
213. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Sept. 29. His thanks to the King for excusing his absence. Question as to the liability of an officer on full pay, but absent on leave, for a military offence. Living of Halesworth vacant by Dr. Whately's appointment to be Archbishop of Dublin; recommends Mr. Badeley for it	356
214. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Sept. 30. The King approves the appointment of Mr. Badeley. His Majesty had seen Sir James Graham. Grounds of his objection to Admiralty Minute	358
215. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Oct. 4. Lord Waldegrave's resignation of his office of Lord of the Bedchamber	360
216. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 4. Acknowledges Lord Grey's account of the first night's debate in the House of Lords on the Reform Bill. Lord Hill's absence. Lord Durham	360
217. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 6. Acknowledges further report of proceedings in the House of Lords	361
218. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 7. Further adjournment of the debate	362
219. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 8. Acknowledges letter announcing the defeat of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. His Majesty had anticipated this result. His apprehensions of a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. Difficulty of meeting the state of things. Retirement of Earl Grey and his colleagues would be a great evil. The King hopes it will not be proposed by the Cabinet	362
220. Earl Grey to the King, Oct. 8. Lord Grey has laid His Majesty's letter before the Cabinet. Their gratitude for his confidence, and desire for time to consider before deciding on their course. Lord Grey wishes to wait on His Majesty to explain his views	361
221. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Oct. 8. Monday would be the day that would suit him best for waiting on the King. The amount of the majority puts a further creation of Peers out of the question. Desire to admit of modifications in the Bill; but it was impossible. Carrying a measure not less efficient absolutely necessary	365

- NO.
222. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 8. Propriety of Ministers taking time for consideration. Will see Lord Grey at any hour on Monday 367
223. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Oct. 8. The King's confidence in the continued exertions of his Ministers. Suggests 3 o'clock on Monday for Lord Grey's seeing the King 367
224. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 9. Sends Colonel Napier's speech for Lord Grey's consideration. Proposes that he should be struck off the half-pay list if the report is accurate 368
225. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Oct. 10. Lord Howe's resignation of the office of Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. His Majesty will not prorogue Parliament in person . . . 370
226. Earl Grey to the King, Oct. 11. Transmits Minute of Cabinet. His gratitude for the King's kindness and confidence. Lord Howe's resignation. Parliament may be prorogued at the end of the week. Hopes the King will reconsider his determination not to prorogue it in person 371
227. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Oct. 11. His anxious hope that the King may be induced to prorogue Parliament in person. Good effect produced by Lord Althorp's declaration of the previous evening in the House of Commons. Note explaining what this declaration was, with a letter respecting it, from Lord Grey to one of his colleagues 374
228. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 12. Acknowledges Cabinet Minute. His Majesty's satisfaction at the readiness of his Ministers to continue in his service. His sense of the feeling that induces them to do so. His assent to their proposal that a new Bill should be brought forward. Recalls their attention to his letter of the 24th of April. Hopes that modifications of the measure which may reconcile opinions may be found. Will prorogue Parliament in person. His reason for having been unwilling to do so 376
229. The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 17. His desire that the Speech from the Throne may not increase excitement.

NO.	PAGE
	Great evil of a second rejection of a Reform Bill by the House of Lords. Whatever can irritate the majority should be avoided. Quotation from Lord Bolingbroke 381
230.	Earl Grey to the King, Oct. 17. Reply to the above. Review of what had taken place with respect to Reform since his accession to office 382
231.	The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 18. Further discussion of the same subject. Reference to Lord John Russell's letter to the Chairman of the Birmingham meeting . . . 385
232.	Sir Herbert Taylor to Earl Grey, Oct. 20. Remarks on the draft of the King's Speech on proroguing Parliament . 388
233.	The King to Earl Grey, Oct. 26. Plan for building a barrack in the Birdcage Walk. Proposed boon to the subaltern ranks of Army and Navy. Pay of Officers of the Blues 389
234.	Earl Grey to the King, Oct. 27. Reply to the above. Satisfactory dispatches from Sir C. Bagot and Sir R. Adair 390
235.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Oct. 28. Letter from Archbishop of Canterbury respecting prayer on account of Cholera. Appointment of trustees for the Queen . . . 392
236.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Oct. 29. Answer to the above. Applications in consequence of the death of Sir G. Naylor 393
237.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 1. Riots at Bristol. Measures proposed in consequence. A Council required. Cabinet Minute enclosed 394
238.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 1. King will come next day at 3, to St. James's, for a Council 397
239.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 3. Outrages stopped at Bristol. Good conduct of the troops. Inefficiency of civil authorities. Cabinet on intended meeting at White Conduit House. Satisfactory accounts from Sir R. Jackson and Major Mackworth 398
240.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 4. Answer to the above. The King's opinion respecting the Political • Unions—as to members of them serving as special constables. Employment of Pensioners at Bristol. Objection to the employment of the Militia 400

NO.	PAGE
241. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 6. Notices issued by Magistrates as to the intended meeting under the advice of the Law Officers. The meeting abandoned. Measures for preserving peace successful; but importance of settling the question of Reform. Opposition to this measure has caused the extension of the Political Unions. The danger of their becoming permanently established. Remedy, the passing of the Reform Bill. Employment of Pensioners. Necessity for effectual organisation of Civil Power. Hopes no addition to military force will be required	402
242. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 7. Lord Grey's letter had been satisfactory to the King. Remarks on the objects of the Agitators and Political Unions, and probable effect upon them of passing the Reform Bill	405
243. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 7. Assemblage at White Conduit House. Views of the Government as to seditious proceedings. Letters from Lord Durham, from Brussels. Case of English cholera at Sunderland	408
244. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 8. Political Unions—how far connected with the Reform question	410
245. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 8. State of things in London. Political Unions. Good effect of Lord Durham's advice in Belgium. Cholera	412
246. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 10. Correspondence between the King and the Duke of Wellington. Lord Grey's letter to the Duke. Real cholera at Sunderland	413
247. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 11. The Duke of Wellington's statement as to arming of Political Unions	414
248. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 11, returning correspondence with the Duke of Wellington. Opinion respecting it. Cabinet on Canada. Progress of cholera at Sunderland	415
249. The King to Earl Grey, Nov. 13. His Majesty, in his correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, desired to convey the impression of his confidence in his Ministers. His trust that they will not allow the formation of armed bodies contrary to law	417

NO.	PAGE
250. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 13. Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington. The King's opinion respecting Canada and the United States	419
251. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 15. The King is glad he did not delay answering the Duke of Wellington's letter; in future, the reply to any similar communication will be a simple acknowledgment. Hopes medical report from Sunderland may show the alarm about cholera to have been a false one	421
252. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 16. Report of contract for firearms at Birmingham. Another letter to His Majesty from the Duke of Wellington. The King's opinion as to representation of Metropolitan districts. Further account from Sunderland satisfactory; also that of the proceedings of the Conference	422
253. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 18. Correspondence of the King with the Duke of Wellington. Possible inconvenience of His Majesty's expressing opinions on public matters to others than his confidential servants. Political Unions. Character of that at Birmingham—difficulty of dealing with it. Representation of Metropolitan districts. Belgian affairs. Worse accounts from Sunderland. Barracks in the Birdcage Walk. Captain Lyons can give the best information respecting Greece	423
254. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 19. Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington. Political Unions. Metropolitan representation. Lord Palmerston's able management of Conference on Belgium. Cholera. Barracks in the Birdcage Walk. Captain Lyons	428
255. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 19, encloses Cabinet Minute, recommending that Parliament should be called together. Council required. Necessary for the King to come to London. Opinion of the Law Officers as to the illegality of the proposed organisation of the Birmingham Union	431
256. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 20. The King will go to London for the Council. His Majesty will be glad to see Lord Grey when he wishes it, but is unwilling	

NO.		PAGE
	to call for his attendance. His Majesty pleased with the opinion of the Law Officers.	433
257.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 22. Proposed arrangements as to another Council for the King's Speech on opening Parliament. Hope that Proclamation ordered the day before will have a good effect. Nothing yet done as to illegal organisation of Political Unions. Mr. O'Connell's scheme of Union. Advantage of his being brought over by the meeting of Parliament. Importance of early settlement of the Reform question. Desire of Ministers to conciliate the opponents of the Bill. Is to see the Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Wharncliffe. Hopes the next discussion of the question in the House of Lords may have a more fortunate issue. If the next Bill should be rejected, serious consequences that must follow .	435
258.	Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 23. The King will hold a Council at St. James's on the 5th of December. His approval of the Proclamation. Concurs in Lord Grey's opinion as to Mr. O'Connell. The King sensible of the importance of settling the question of Reform. His confidence in Lord Grey and his colleagues. He would lament the loss of their services: is therefore glad of the communication with Lord Wharncliffe. Hopes as to communications with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. Thinks the Duke of Wellington could not have been consulted by Lord Wharncliffe. Letter from the National Political Union	438
259.	Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 25. Answer to the above. Has received written communication from Lord Wharncliffe: it is less encouraging. Cabinet on Reform to be held next day. Conversation with Bishop of London most satisfactory: from the Archbishop of Canterbury has got nothing definite. Effect that would be produced by the expression of His Majesty's opinion. The King's satisfaction with the Proclamation has given him pleasure. Its good effect. Meaning of the declaration of the National Union. Looks forward to	

NO.	PAGE
speedy dissolution of these Unions if Reform can be carried. Bill for plate ordered by the late King	442
260. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 27 The King's remarks on the communications with the opponents of the former Reform Bill. City meeting. The King's regret that he cannot exert his influence with either Spiritual or Lay Peers in favour of the Reform Bill. Effect of the Proclamation. Bill for plate	446
261. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 28. Acknowledges the preceding letter. Sends letters from Dr. Fenwick respecting cholera at Sunderland, and from Lord Lisimore respecting Ireland	449
262. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Nov. 29. Reply to the above. The King desires advice as to an application for a subscription for the Paisley Weavers	450
263. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Nov. 30. Interview with Lord Wharncliffe. Discussion with him of his proposed alterations in the Reform Bill. Excuse for deferring consideration of other matters referred to him by His Majesty. P.S. Note received from Lord Wharncliffe putting an end to all hope of agreement	451
264. Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey, Dec. 1. King desires him to defer replying to the part of Lord Grey's letter relating to the Reform Bill and his communication with Lord Wharncliffe	457
265. Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor, Dec. 2. Sends rough draft of Speech for the opening of Parliament. Captain Lyons. Article in the 'Standard'	458
Appendix A. Report on Reform by Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, and Lord Duncannon	461
Appendix B. Minute of Conversation between Lord Grey and Lord Wharncliffe, Nov. 16, 1831	464
Appendix C. Lord Wharncliffe's Plan for the Alteration of the Reform Bill, Nov. 23, 1831.	471

CORRESPONDENCE OF EARL GREY

WITH

KING WILLIAM IV.

No. 1.

Earl Grey to the King.

Berkeley Square, Nov. 23, 1830.

EARL GREY has the honour of submitting to your Majesty the minutes of a Cabinet, held last night at Earl Grey's house. Your Majesty's servants are to meet again to-day, at three o'clock, to take into further consideration the mode of executing the measures resolved upon, as stated in the above minute; upon which Earl Grey hopes to be able further to inform your Majesty when he has the honour of waiting on your Majesty, in obedience to your Majesty's commands, to-day, at four o'clock. All which is most humbly submitted by Your Majesty's most dutiful subject and servant,

GREY.

(Enclosure.)

PRESENT :

The Lord Chancellor.	The Viscount Palmerston.
The Lord President.	The Viscount Goderich.
The Lord Privy Seal.	The Viscount Althorp.
The Duke of Richmond.	The Lord Holland.
The Earl of Carlisle.	Sir James Graham.
Earl Grey.	The Right Hon. C. Grant.
The Viscount Melbourne.	

1. A Proclamation to be issued to warn all persons engaged in illegal acts, of the danger of their proceedings, and of the determination of the Government to exert all their powers to suppress unlawful assemblies and acts of outrage. To exhort the Magistrates and others to use the utmost vigour in the execution of their duties, and to offer a reward for the detection of all offenders.

2. To address a Circular Letter to all Lords-Lieutenants to use the utmost diligence and vigour in assembling the civil power, and immediately directing it to the suppression of all acts of violence; and suggesting to all Lords-Lieutenants who, from any circumstances, are unable personally to use the exertions required in such an emergency, to appoint Vice-Lieutenants to repair to the disturbed parts of their respective counties, and to exercise the powers of Lords-Lieutenants, for the purposes above stated.

3. In the foregoing, to be enclosed the form of a circular to be addressed to the Magistrates to exhort them to act with vigour, to inform them of the powers vested in them for this purpose, and the security afforded

them by the law in the exercise of these powers; warning them at the same time that any remissness in the discharge of their duty will incur His Majesty's severest displeasure. To enclose in this circular the plan adopted by the Duke of Richmond in Sussex, with an account of the success attending its execution.

4. To communicate with the Commander-in-Chief for the purpose of sending officers into the disturbed parts of the country, to communicate with the Magistrates, and to form plans for the distribution and exertion, both of the civil and military power.

5. To inquire at Chelsea Hospital respecting the number and residence of discharged soldiers receiving pensions, with a view to forming them into bodies for the protection of the public peace. To consult with the Commander-in-Chief on this point.

6. To direct all the depositions which have been received either at the Home Office, or by the Solicitor to the Treasury, to be laid before His Majesty's Law Officers, requiring them to take the same into their immediate consideration, and to report their opinion thereon as to the expediency of instituting prosecutions in any cases on which there may be proof sufficient to obtain convictions.

No. 2.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Nov. 23, 1830.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's note of this day, and the accompanying minute of a Cabinet held last night.

His Majesty approves in general of all that is therein submitted for his consideration, sensible as he is that the present state of the country imperiously calls for every possible demonstration of firmness in the resolution of his Government, for the utmost vigour and energy in its measures, and for promptness and decision in the execution of these measures. There is one point only, that contained in Art. 5 of the minute, on which His Majesty considers it necessary to observe more particularly. His Majesty has reason to believe that what is therein suggested, has, at various times, engaged the attention of his late Government, that the necessary information will prove to have been collected, and arrangements to have been proposed by Sir Henry Hardinge, and possibly to a certain extent carried into effect in Ireland, upon a principle more or less applicable to the state and circumstances of this country. The King conceives that great discrimination will be necessary in assembling for the preservation of the public peace, otherwise than in military bodies subject to military discipline, men whose habits may, unless brought under close control and restriction, be considered little calculated to promote the object with a view to which it is proposed to assemble them. At any rate it appears to His Majesty, that military officers should be sent to the points at which they may be assembled in counties or districts, to inspect them before they are formed into bodies; and to ascertain whether their physical and *moral* qualifications shall justify their being employed *as protectors of the public peace*.

Another point upon which the King had spoken to Sir Robert Peel, is the occasional augmentation, for any

particular emergency, of the metropolitan police; and the expedient which suggested itself, appeared to His Majesty a very simple one. Namely, that the men constituting the permanent police should each be required to give in the names of one or more residents within their respective districts, efficient men of good character, and well affected, for whom they would be responsible, and whose names should be enrolled as assistants or subsidiary policemen, to be brought by them to the station of assembly, when required, upon which occasion they should be sworn in as special constables, and should receive pay while so employed. The King suggests these as general ideas for the consideration of Lord Grey, but does not consider it necessary to enter into further details.

WILLIAM R.

No. 3.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Nov. 26, 1830.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Lord Grey's letter, and will be glad to receive him at three this day, or at any other hour that may suit him. His Majesty indeed wishes it to be clearly understood by Lord Grey and the other members of his Government, that he will never suffer any engagement or his convenience to interfere with the attention which His Majesty considers to be due to public business. His Majesty has learnt with satisfaction, that Mr. Chas. Wynne has accepted the office of Secretary at War.

WILLIAM R.

No. 4.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Nov. 27, 1830.

The King, aware as he is of the difficulties which have arisen with respect to the appointment of a Master-General of the Ordnance,* is induced to communicate to Earl Grey, for his consideration, what has occurred to him upon the subject. However averse His Majesty has ever been, upon principle, to the idea of breaking up an old established public department of considerable extent and importance, and which has been conducted with great ability and respectability, and with acknowledged efficiency in its various branches; much as His Majesty dislikes even the appearance of yielding to clamours for reform, which have often been, and may still be, urged by individuals who, in their eagerness for reductions, do not take the trouble of making any distinction between that which is useful and necessary, and that which is wasteful and superfluous, or who may be altogether incapable of forming a correct judgment upon the subject,—the King is not less alive to the objection of maintaining a high and important establishment upon a footing inconsistent with the character so long attached to it. Yet, such would be the effect of placing at the head of the Ordnance Department any individual of rank in the

* The arrangement originally proposed to the King, and approved by him, was that the Duke of Richmond should be Master-General; but this appointment did not take place, owing to an objection made to it by the Commander-in-Chief, on the ground of the Duke's rank in the army not being sufficiently high.

service, or station in the country, inferior to those who have hitherto presided over it, or of placing the military parts of it in hands not of the military profession. Under these circumstances, His Majesty would not feel disinclined to sanction an arrangement which has been frequently suggested, and which he has reason to believe would be by no means unpalatable to the corps of Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. Namely, to place these corps and the millitary arrangements of the Ordnance Department under the Commander-in-Chief, with a Major-General of each corps on the staff, through whom the details of the service should be carried on, and who would report to, and receive their orders and instructions from, the Commander-in-Chief. The Barrack Department to be placed under the superintendence of the Quartermaster-General, subject also to the control of the Commander-in-Chief. The accounts of the military branches to be thrown into the War Office. The Civil Departments of the Ordnance might form a distinct establishment, and be regulated by a Board, similar to the Navy Board, and might be responsible to the Treasury for their expenditure.

His Majesty believes that the actual constitution of the Ordnance Department, and the division of business into civil and military, would facilitate the execution of this arrangement.

WILLIAM R.

No. 5.

Earl Grey to the King.

Berkeley Square, Nov. 27, 1830.

Earl Grey has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's most gracious letter of this day's date. He will not fail in his duty to give the most anxious attention to the very important suggestions of your Majesty, with a view to a new regulation of the Ordnance Department. But he humbly submits to your Majesty, that so great and extensive a change would require much time for inquiry and consideration, and that it might be inconvenient to leave, during the interval, so important a branch of the public service under officers who held their appointments only till their successors shall be named.

Earl Grey therefore humbly entreats your Majesty to allow him to proceed in his endeavours to fill the offices of the Ordnance according to the present mode, in the hope that he may shortly be able to recommend to your Majesty some officer of suitable rank and character to be at the head of that department, under whose care and management any regulations that may be found to be more beneficial for its future constitution, may be carried into effect.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 6.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Nov. 27th, 1830.

The King has this moment received Earl Grey's letter, and does not delay to assure him that his only

motive in suggesting what had occurred to him, was to satisfy Earl Grey that he would not object to any arrangement of the Ordnance Department which might relieve him from a difficulty; but His Majesty has not the most distant wish to embarrass him by the communication of any suggestion, and he is perfectly satisfied that Lord Grey's arrangements will be such as must receive his approbation.

WILLIAM R.

No. 7.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's Palace, Dec. 1, 1830.

The King is induced to make this confidential communication to Earl Grey, as to the head of his Government, and the individual on whom he rests his hopes of support, in consequence of some hints thrown out by Lord Holland, when His Majesty placed in his hands the seals of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of some further observations which he made to him yesterday, which His Majesty cannot deny to have occasioned to him considerable alarm and uneasiness, as threatening an invasion of those rights and privileges which he is in duty bound to maintain, and to transmit unimpaired to his successors. It appeared to be, in the contemplation of Lord Holland, not only to admit of the threatened interference by Parliament in the concerns of the Duchy of Lancaster, but even to promote it, and His Majesty cannot but apprehend that the idea of submitting them for investigation to a committee of the House of Commons has been entertained.

To such a course His Majesty conceives that he would be justified in objecting most strenuously, as being inconsistent with, and in violation of the especial and hereditary rights which, as Sovereign of this country, he possesses in the Duchy of Lancaster, and as tending to lower his dignity and authority, and to bring his name into contempt.

The King hopes he may be mistaken, and that the apprehensions raised by Lord Holland's expressions may be groundless, but lest this should not be the case, he deems it necessary thus early to notice them to Earl Grey, as it is his anxious wish to avoid the possibility of any discussion with his Government, which should be at variance with his earnest desire to continue to it his unqualified countenance and support. His Majesty is convinced that Lord Grey will agree with him that the value of that support, more especially in such times as the present, will depend in great measure upon the estimation in which His Majesty's character may be held in the country, and that nothing is more likely to shake it, nothing more calculated to lessen the benefit which his Government may derive from it, than any act which shall create the impression that His Majesty is disposed tamely to submit to invasions of his just rights, and to surrender privileges which have not hitherto been questioned.

These are the grounds of his present communication to Earl Grey. They are personal as connected with the integrity of his possession in the Duchy of Lancaster, they are public as affecting his character as Sovereign of this country, and its influence upon the opinions and feelings of his subjects in these critical times ; and

His Majesty is satisfied that Earl Grey will give him credit for the importance which he attaches to the maintenance of both.

Earl Grey cannot be surprised that the King should view with jealousy any idea of Parliamentary interference with the only remaining pittance of an independent possession which has been enjoyed by his ancestors during many centuries, as their *private* and *independent estate*, and has now, as such, lawfully devolved upon him in right of succession. That he should feel that any successful attempt to deprive the Sovereign of this independent possession will be to lower and degrade him into the state and condition of absolute and entire dependence, as a pensioner of the House of Commons, to place him in the condition of an individual violating or surrendering a trust which had been held sacred by his ancestors, and which he is bound to transmit to his successors.

The King cannot indeed conceive upon what plea such a national invasion of the *private* rights, and such a seizure of the *private* estates of the Sovereign could be justified. It cannot be founded upon any principle of retrenchment, for if such be the object, if it be thought fit or becoming to reduce the resources of the Sovereign in a greater degree than has already been effected by the surrender of certain allowances, an equivalent reduction in the grant of that portion of the Civil List revenue which is appropriated to His Majesty's Privy Purse would naturally have occurred to those who may wish to curtail the attributes of Royalty.

The King has entrusted the *guardianship* of this, his ancient private estate and inheritance, to one of

his confidential servants,* who, upon his installation into the office of Chancellor of the Duchy, took a solemn oath that 'all things that may serve for the weal and profit of the King's Highness, *his "heirs and successors"* (that is in relation to the Duchy of Lancaster), and for the good rule and governance of the said Duchy, he would well and truly do and fulfil to his cunning and power.' And His Majesty has fair reason to expect that a pledge so solemnly taken will be fulfilled, and that he will be supported in his assertion of these *private* rights, not only of himself, but of his heirs and successors, as they have devolved upon him, *separate* from all other his possessions *jure coronæ*, and consequently as his separate personal and private estate, vested in His Majesty, by descent from Henry VII., in his body *natural*, and not in his body *politic* as King.

The King, in his desire to put Earl Grey in full possession of the view he takes of this question, has been drawn into much greater detail than he had contemplated.

WILLIAM R.

No. 8.

Earl Grey to the King.

Berkeley Square, Dec. 1, 1830.

Earl Grey has had the honour of receiving your Majesty's confidential and most gracious communication of this day's date.

It is with the deepest regret that Earl Grey learns from your Majesty, that some observations had fallen from Lord Holland, on the occasion of receiving from

your Majesty the seals of the Duchy of Lancaster, and again yesterday, which had occasioned to your Majesty considerable alarm and uneasiness, as threatening an invasion of those rights and privileges, which your Majesty feels yourself in duty bound to maintain and transmit unimpaired to your successors. Earl Grey will lose no time in communicating with Lord Holland on this subject, and humbly requests permission to show him your Majesty's most gracious letter.

Earl Grey will not allow himself to doubt that a satisfactory explanation will be the result of this communication. Earl Grey, in the meantime, begs leave to assure your Majesty, that it has never been in his contemplation to sanction, still less to propose to Parliament, any interference in the concerns of the Duchy of Lancaster, nor is he aware that any idea of submitting them for investigation to the Committee of the House of Commons has been at any time entertained; and Earl Grey can have no hesitation in adding, that any consideration of the state of your Majesty's hereditary possessions in the Duchy of Lancaster, unless recommended by your Majesty's gracious and voluntary condescension, would be exposed to all the objections which your Majesty has so forcibly stated.

In conclusion, Earl Grey begs further to assure your Majesty, that it will always be his most anxious wish to prove himself not undeserving of the confidence with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour him, as it is also his bounden duty to resist any attempt to invade your Majesty's acknowledged personal rights, and to maintain unimpaired the honour of your Majesty's crown.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 9.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 1, 1830.

The King hastens to assure Lord Grey of the sincere satisfaction which he has derived from the perusal of his letter just received, and that every expression of it confirms not less than it justifies the confidence which His Majesty had reposed in Earl Grey, and his conviction that he would find in him a steady supporter of the honour of his crown, and of His Majesty's acknowledged personal rights, against any attempts that might be made to assail them. His Majesty cannot have the least objection to Earl Grey's showing his letter to Lord Holland.

WILLIAM R.

No. 10.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 2, 1830.

My dear Lord,—The King has honoured me with his commands to acquaint your Lordship, that in his conversation with you yesterday on the subject of the Civil List, His Majesty omitted to remind your Lordship of the question of a sum of money for the outfit of the Queen.

I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information, the copy of a letter His Majesty ordered me to write to the Duke of Wellington on this subject, and to add that upon subsequent reference to the Queen's Treasurer, the outfit was found to exceed 25,000*l*.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

(Enclosure.)

Sir Herbert Taylor to the Duke of Wellington.

St. James's Palace, Nov. 15, 1830.

My dear Lord Duke,—With reference to what the King said to your Grace yesterday, respecting a sum of money for the outfit of the Queen, His Majesty has this morning directed me to acquaint you, that it does not appear from the inquiry he has been able to make, that any sum of money was issued to the late Queen Charlotte, or to her Treasurer for that purpose, upon her arrival in England; but that everything had been prepared, equipages, horses, liveries, even to her trousseau, and it is presumed at the charge of the public; for it cannot be supposed that King George III. provided for all this out of his privy purse, any more than for the purchase of Her Majesty's jewels, which, from the directions in her will, appear to have cost 50,000*l*.

The Queen's outfit in the Stable Department alone will amount, as far as I can learn, to nearly 20,000*l*. and if this and the further sum that may be required, are to be provided by herself out of the annual income, she will start with a heavy debt, and will not be able to maintain her establishment on the scale upon which it has been formed, which is not larger than that of the late Queen Charlotte. His Majesty, therefore, trusts that your Grace will have the goodness to take this matter into your serious consideration, with a view to relieve the Queen from the difficulty in which she would be placed, by the omission of an adequate provision on the score of outfit.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 11.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Berkeley Square, Dec. 3, 1830.

My dear Sir,—I received your letter at too late an hour to answer it last night. I beg you will assure His Majesty that what he said to me (I believe the first time that I had the honour of being admitted to his presence) on the subject of an outfit for the Queen, had not escaped my observation. It will be my anxious desire, in the arrangement of the Civil List, to meet so reasonable and so necessary a demand; and I am not without sanguine hopes that I shall be able, with the assistance of my colleagues, to provide for it. But I will not conceal from you that I have considerable difficulties to encounter from the jealousy of the House of Commons on this subject, and from its not having been adverted to by my predecessors in office. I hope, however, that His Majesty will give me credit for a most anxious wish on this and on every other occasion, to do everything in my power to perform, in the way that may be most agreeable to His Majesty, the duty which I owe both to him and to Her Majesty the Queen.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the copy of the letter which you wrote, by His Majesty's command, to the Duke of Wellington. Would there be any impropriety in my requesting to see the answer to it, if there was one?

I am, &c.

GREY.

No. 12.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 4, 1830.

My dear Lord,—I have now the honour to send your Lordship the Duke of Wellington's answer to my letter respecting the outfit for the Queen. I was obliged to wait the return of my clerk, who had been sent to Windsor, and then found that the Queen, to whom the King had given the letter, had not returned it.

I forgot to mention to your Lordship, that the King had expressed himself perfectly satisfied with your letter on the subject, and quite sensible of the difficulty which may occur.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

(Enclosure in No. 12.)

The Duke of Wellington to Sir Herbert Taylor.

London, Nov. 15, 1830.

My dear General,—The result of my enquiry respecting the outfit for Queen Charlotte has been exactly what His Majesty had anticipated. We cannot find the trace of any expenditure on this head. However, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I will endeavour, if possible, to obtain some money to aid, at least, in defraying this expense.

Believe me, yours most sincerely,

W.

No. 13.

At a Cabinet Council, held at the Foreign Office,

December 4, 1830.

PRESENT :

The Lord Chancellor.

The Lord President.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Duke of Richmond.

The Earl of Carlisle.

The Earl Grey.

The Viscount Melbourne.

The Viscount Palmerston.

The Lord Holland.

The Lord Goderich.

The Right Hon. C. Grant.

It was agreed that a Circular Letter, a copy of which will be submitted to your Majesty by the Viscount Melbourne, should be addressed to the Magistrates, cautioning them against concessions which might bear the character of intimidation and weakness, and exhorting them to increased activity and vigour.

That, for the preservation of the peace of the country, additional measures should be taken for the establishment of a Constabulary Force, and, where necessary, of Corps of Yeomanry.

That a Special Commission should be sent to Buckinghamshire, in addition to that already directed to be sent to Wilts, Hants, and Berks.

That orders should be issued to the Admiralty to send two sloops of war to the Tyne, for the protection of that and the neighbouring ports, in case the present insurrectionary spirit, of which there are as yet, happily, no symptoms, should extend to that important district.

No. 14.

The King to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 4, 1830.

The King approves of the measures proposed in the Minute of Cabinet which Earl Grey has sent him. His Majesty is very sensible of the objections, both on the score of alarm at home, and the effect abroad at this period, of resorting to any measure of military augmentation. He conceives, however, that the existing establishments might be completed, whereby alone an addition of 7000 or 8000 men would be made to the regular army in the United Kingdom.

WILLIAM R.

No. 15.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 7, 1830.

My dear Lord,—A question having arisen as to the right of the late Queen Charlotte to dispose by her will of jewels given to her by the King George III. upon her marriage, and which His Majesty purchased for 50,000*l.*, I was ordered by the King to apply to the Treasury for information required by Lord Lyndhurst to guide his opinion on the subject ; and I have recently received from Mr. Stewart a minute, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy by His Majesty's commands ; and from which it would appear that the jewels were purchased out of the Civil List Revenue, and not with George III.'s private monies ; and therefore would become, after Her Majesty's demise,

the property of the Crown. This, however, is the point for legal decision. His Majesty's object in making this communication to your Lordship is, to show that there was a provision made for the outfit of the late Queen Charlotte, allowing jewels to constitute a part of the royal outfit; and that this may offer an argument in support of his consort's claim, although it is by no means intended that it should embrace any jewels, or articles of jewelry; the Queen's outlay, at starting, being almost exclusively limited to the charges in the department of her Master of the Horse.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 16.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

St. James's, Dec. 10, 1830.

My dear Lord,—The King has honoured me with his commands to acquaint your Lordship, that Sir William Freemantle, who has been with him since you left his Majesty, has readily consented to waive his desire to be brought into Parliament, and to represent Windsor. This affords to His Majesty an opportunity to mark, in the most unequivocal manner, his determination to give, in these critical times, the utmost support in his power to your Lordship and the present Administration, by offering his assistance in bringing Mr. Stanley in for Windsor, if he should lose his election for Preston; and His Majesty has ordered me to assure you that he avails himself of this opportunity with great satisfaction.

If Mr. Stanley should take advantage of this opening,

he had better communicate at once with Sir Hussey Vivian, in order that the agents at Windsor may be apprised, without delay, of the proposed arrangement. Having been member for Windsor, I may state that the expenses of the election will amount to about 1000*l.*, and the annual subscriptions, charities, &c., to something less than 100*l.*

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 17.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 19, 1830.

My dear Lord,—I am honoured with the King's commands to transmit to your Lordship the letter enclosed, which His Majesty has received from Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood. His Majesty orders me to add, that Sir Henry Blackwood has been very long known to him as an excellent man, and a very meritorious officer; but that it is by no means his wish on this, or any other occasion, to interfere with your Lordship's disposal of official situations.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

P.S.—His Majesty asked me whether I had received any further account of poor Lord Spencer and Lord Althorp.

No. 18.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Downing Street, Dec. 20, 1830.

Dear Sir Herbert,—I had the honour last night of receiving your letter, written by His Majesty's command,

and enclosing one to His Majesty from Sir H. Blackwood, soliciting the appointment of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.

I beg you will assure His Majesty of my readiness at all times to obey his commands with respect to matters of this nature. But, availing myself of His Majesty's permission to submit to his consideration what may appear best calculated for the good of His Majesty's service, in the appointment to official situations, I have to request that you will communicate to him the opinion of Sir James Kempt as to the office in question.

After receiving the melancholy news of Sir R. Spencer's death, I lost no time in consulting with Sir James, as to the best manner of supplying the place which he had left vacant. Sir James has represented to me, that, since the annexation of the Barrack and the Store Departments to the Ordnance, the duties of the Surveyor-General have been very much connected with military arrangements and details; and a person who is not conversant with such matters would experience, Sir James apprehends, considerable difficulty in performing the duties at present assigned to the Surveyor-General. On the other hand, the superintendence and delivery of the stores which belong to the office of Storekeeper, which involve details connected with the naval service, might, it appears, be more advantageously committed to the care of an officer of that profession; and I should, on this account, wish to recommend that officers should, in future, be thus distributed:—Surveyor-General, an officer in the Army; Storekeeper, ditto, Navy. In this event, Col. Maberley, with His Majesty's approbation, would take the first, and a naval officer the second.

With respect to Sir H. Blackwood, having no knowledge of his qualifications as a man of business myself, I should wish to act entirely in obedience to His Majesty's opinion, if this arrangement would suit him ; but he probably would not be willing to accept the place of second officer at the Board after the Master-General.

This office has given me more trouble and vexation than all the other appointments which I have had to make ; and now a new difficulty has occurred with respect to Mr. Denison, who has been disappointed in his expectation (which he had announced as certain on Thursday last, when I proposed his appointment as Clerk of the Ordnance) of obtaining a seat in Parliament. It is now, therefore, my intention, understanding that I had His Majesty's permission to do so, to offer this office to Mr. Tennyson ; and I trust that this matter will be finally arranged to-morrow.

I have nothing further to communicate that will not be transmitted from the other departments to His Majesty, to whom I beg you will offer the expression of my humble duty.

I am, &c.

GREY.

No. 19.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Downing Street, Dec. 21, 1830.

Dear Sir,—I enclose in a separate cover a letter to the King, to which I am anxious to obtain an answer as soon as may suit His Majesty's convenience.

I was in hopes I should have been able to settle a

final arrangement of the Ordnance with Sir James Kempt, subject always to His Majesty's approbation, in time to communicate it by to-night's post; but he has not yet appeared, and I am now obliged to go to the House of Lords.

A motion was given notice of last night in the House of Commons, for an account of all the offices, &c., held under the Duchy of Lancaster. It was appointed for to-day, but I am in hopes it will be given up. If not, Lord Althorp (though I am afraid he will not be able to attend), Lord Palmerston, and Sir James Graham are prepared to meet it with the most determined resistance.

Lord Melbourne has received an account to-day of Mr. O'Connell's entry into Dublin on Monday evening, about six o'clock. He was met by a procession, prepared by the Union of Trades, of between five and six thousand people, who conducted him to his house in Merrion Square, from whence he addressed them, recommending, at the end of his speech, that they should disperse peaceably, which they did. I mention this lest Lord Melbourne should not have transmitted the account to His Majesty. From all other parts of the country the accounts are much the same as they have been lately; and I am sorry to say the large assemblages in the neighbourhood of Manchester, under the direction of the Trades Union, for the purpose of compelling a general resistance to the rate of wages offered by the master manufacturers, still continue.

I enclose a letter which has been sent to me for the King, the cover of which has been torn, in consequence of its sticking to the seal of the envelope.

I remain, &c.

GREY.

No. 20.

Earl Grey to the King.

Downing Street, Dec. 21, 1830.

Earl Grey has the honour of transmitting for your Majesty's consideration, a letter which he has just received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring him to take your Majesty's pleasure on the expediency of directing a Prayer to be prepared by the Archbishop, and used on Sundays and Holydays in all churches and chapels in England and Wales. This subject has been very much pressed upon Earl Grey from various quarters; and if your Majesty has no objections, he would humbly recommend that the Archbishop's proposal should be complied with.

As the deanery of Chester will become vacant on the

appointment of Clerk of the Ordnance to Mr. Tennyson, by whom it has been accepted, of which Earl Grey humbly solicits your Majesty's approbation. The other offices, with the exception of the Treasurer, the appointment to which of Mr. Creevey your Majesty has already been graciously pleased to approve, remain undecided upon, till Earl Grey shall have learnt your Majesty's sentiments on the communication made by him yesterday to Sir H. Taylor.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 21.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Dec. 21, 1830.

My dear Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of yesterday, and of submitting it to the King.

His Majesty orders me to assure your Lordship, that he entirely concurs in the view which you have taken of the appointments to the Board of Ordnance, and that he equally approves of the arrangements you propose, namely, that the office of Surveyor-General should be filled by a military officer, and that of the Principal Storekeeper by a naval officer. His Majesty fully sanctions the nomination of Lieut.-Colonel Maberley to the first, and of Mr. Tennyson to the clerkship of the Ordnance; and he desires your Lordship will use your discretion in the choice of the naval officer for the situation of Storekeeper. His Majesty has no reason to believe that Sir Henry Blackwood would object to it, but is ignorant what may be his

qualifications as a man of business, though in his profession he has shown great zeal and intelligence ; but His Majesty orders me to repeat that his application was referred to your Lordship, as would that of any other individual similarly circumstanced, and not with the most distant view of interfering with or embarrassing you in your arrangements, all which His Majesty knows to be directed to the advantage and efficiency of his service.

The King has honoured me with his commands to acquaint your Lordship, that he has named Sir Robert Otway a Groom of the Bed-chamber, in the room of poor Sir Robert Spencer ; also that, having this day received the unexpected resignation of the Earl of Beverley, who was one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, His Majesty has availed himself of this opportunity to carry into effect his wish to confer that situation upon his future son-in-law, Lord Falkland. The vacancy has occurred most opportunely, to enable His Majesty to make this wedding present to the young couple, and he is persuaded your Lordship will give him credit for such disposal of it.

The next vacancy will be filled by Lord Say and Sele. The King has ordered me to transmit to your Lordship, with reference to these household appointments, when filled by naval officers, the enclosed memorandum from Sir Henry Blackwood, with the copy of a letter I was directed to write to Mr. Barrow and his answer. A similar representation was received some time ago from Lord James O'Brien, and sent to Lord Melville, but not noticed. You will perceive that His Majesty considers the question deserving of attention.

I am happy to say that the King appears already the better for his removal to this place. All is quiet here and in the neighbourhood, and the trials at Lewes are proceeding without interruption.

I am sorry to trouble your Lordship with so long a letter, while your time must be otherwise so much engaged, and equally desirous that you should, upon these occasions, not be at the trouble of answering me yourself.

If you will have the goodness to put me in communication with your Private Secretary, it may relieve you from this additional labour.

I have, &c.

II. TAYLOR.

No. 22.

Sir II. Taylor to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 22, 1830.

My dear Lord,—I have the honour to enclose the King's answer to your Lordship's letter, and in which His Majesty has noticed your communication, through me, relative to the notice given in the House of Commons, of a motion for an account of all offices, &c., held under the Duchy of Lancaster, which communication gave His Majesty great satisfaction. I hope, however, that it will be given up. His Majesty had not received any report from Lord Melbourne, but was not surprised to hear that a procession had been prepared to meet Mr. O'Connell, upon his entry into Dublin. The King observed, that he would have been better pleased if this assembly of people had not dispersed quietly *at his bidding*, as the

control which he has successfully exercised upon various occasions in this way appears to His Majesty the most striking proof of the influence he has acquired over a portion of the lower classes in Ireland.

His Majesty had not flattered himself that the assemblages in the neighbourhood of Manchester, under the direction of the Trades Union, would very soon subside; though, unpleasant as they are, they have never occasioned to him serious uneasiness, being satisfied that these proceedings are duly watched, and that they will, when necessary, be met with due firmness, and checked.

The letter which your Lordship enclosed for the King was of no importance, from an individual, having no claim, applying for a loan of 300*l*.

It has been suggested to the King that there is an apartment at Holyrood House hung with tapestry, in His late Majesty's time, which would be used more freely if this tapestry were removed, and might be conducive to the comfort of Charles X. and his family, who may possibly be rather cramped for room. His Majesty has ordered me to name this to your Lordship, for such notice as it may appear to you to merit.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

(Enclosure.)

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 22, 1830.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's letter of yesterday, enclosing one from the Archbishop of Canterbury, which he returns.

His Majesty highly approves of the Archbishop's

proposal, that a Prayer should be prepared by him, to be used on Sundays and Holydays, in all churches and chapels in England and Wales.

His Majesty concurs with Earl Grey in the propriety of conferring the Deanery of Chester, which will become vacant by the promotion of the Dean to the see of Exeter, upon the Rev. Mr. Davys, who appears to be well entitled to this mark of favour.

Earl Grey will have already learnt His Majesty's approval of the appointment of Mr. Tennyson to the clerkship of the Ordnance; and he hopes that the remaining arrangements of the Ordnance department will be finally completed to his satisfaction.

His Majesty is very sensible of Lord Grey's determination to resist any motion in the House of Commons with a view to interference in the concerns of the Duchy of Lancaster.

• WILLIAM R.

No. 23.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Downing Street, Dec. 22, 1830.

Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 20th and 21st, the first containing ——'s letters to the King, was not, owing to some mistake or accident, forwarded by the regular post, but came by a special messenger sent by the Post Office yesterday evening.

With respect to ——'s application, I have to request that you will represent to His Majesty, that I can have no right to object to any orders he may be

pleased personally to give respecting this matter, but that I could not take it upon myself to recommend to His Majesty a compliance with ——'s request.

The very short time that must necessarily clapse before he will succeed to his ——'s title seems to render his immediate advancement to the peerage a matter of comparatively inferior importance to him. To his family it would give little additional consequence to that which they already possess as derived from the succession ; and the creation of a new peer would be seized as a favourable opportunity by many who are pressing claims to that distinction, to renew their applications with increased urgency.

Sir James Graham had already mentioned to me the case of the officers of the Navy who hold appointments in His Majesty's household ; and it appeared to me, that the provisions of the Act of Parliament, which is adverted to in Mr. Barrow's letter, opposed an insurmountable obstacle to their claims. There is also the difficulty of carrying any proposition of this sort into effect, without its being canvassed and objected to in the House of Commons ; but I will have some further communication on this subject with Sir James Graham.

I have had great pleasure in receiving His Majesty's sanction of the appointments of Mr. Tennyson and Colonel Maberley as Clerk and Surveyor of the Ordnance, and will proceed, under the permission of His Majesty, to fill up the other appointments with the least possible delay.

I have been much gratified at learning that the King has been pleased to appoint Vice-Admiral Sir R.

Otway to be one of the Grooms of His Majesty's Bed-chamber. May I be permitted to add, that the motives which have induced His Majesty to name Lord Falkland as the successor of Lord Beverley are such as must naturally have been expected to prevail in His Majesty's disposal of that office. For His Majesty's kind assurance that Lord Say and Sele will succeed to the next vacancy I feel most grateful.

I am sorry to say that Mr. Stanley's legal advisers, after having carefully examined the case on the spot, have advised him to discontinue the scrutiny: the same opinion is given against a petition. This seat, therefore, is lost; and, what is worse, Mr. Hunt has found his way into Parliament. If no other seat, therefore, can be found for Mr. Stanley, I must revert to His Majesty's kind offer of Windsor, in the event of its being vacated by Sir Hussey Vivian.

I remain, &c.

GREY.

P.S.—I have read with the liveliest pleasure your account of His Majesty's improved health.

No. 24.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey. ' .

Brighton, Dec. 23, 1830.

My dear Lord,—I have had the honour to submit your Lordship's letter of yesterday to the King, who has ordered me to say that he entirely concurs in the view you take of ——'s application, which will be met in that sense.

His Majesty cannot so readily reconcile himself to the abandonment of the claim of the Officers of the Navy who hold or may hold appointments in his household, as the provisions of the Act of Parliament must totally disappoint and defeat his wish to confer upon them such marks of his personal favour and approbation.

To Lord Byron and Lord Napier, who are only captains, the situation of Lord of the Bed-chamber will continue to be an object, as they forfeit only 12*s.* per diem ; but, to Lord James O'Brien, the salary offers little more than an equivalent for what he is obliged to give up ; and Sir Henry Blackwood and Sir Robert Otway would lose so much by holding the situations of Grooms of the Bed-chamber, that they had better not retain them.

The King is much gratified by your Lordship's approval of his appointment of Lord Falkland to be one of the Lords of the Bedchamber. His Majesty has learnt with great regret that Mr. Stanley is under the necessity of discontinuing the scrutiny, and of abandoning the petition against the return of Mr. Hunt ; but orders me to repeat that Windsor will be open to him whenever vacated by Sir Hussey Vivian. As it may be material that no time should be lost, His Majesty suggests to your Lordship the expediency of making some communication to Sir Hussey Vivian which may expedite his retirement, provided his appointment to the command of the Forces in Ireland shall be free from doubt, which your Lordship will learn from your communication with Lord Anglesey.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR,

No. 25.

Earl Grey to the King.

Downing Street, Dec. 23, 1830.

Earl Grey has humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of yesterday, with your Majesty's gracious approbation of the several appointments which he had ventured to recommend to your Majesty.

Upon full consideration, and with the advice of Sir Thomas Hardy, Earl Grey has proposed to the Hon. Captain Duncan the appointment to the office of Storekeeper of the Ordnance, of which, if he accepts it, Earl Grey anxiously hopes your Majesty will approve.

At a meeting of your Majesty's servants yesterday, it was thought necessary that an addition should be made to the military force of the country, with a view to the internal state both of England and Ireland, but more particularly with respect to the latter. For this purpose it was agreed that Earl Grey should immediately submit to your Majesty the expediency of embodying the Militia, which can only be done by taking immediate measures for a new ballot. It was also thought right to accept any offers that may be made for raising Yeomanry Corps in those parts of the country where the spirit of insubordination appears to be most prevalent.

As the order for balloting for the Militia will require the sanction of your Majesty in Council, Earl Grey has further to submit that a Council should be held at Brighton, at such time as may suit your Majesty's convenience; for which purpose, Earl Grey, with such other Members of the Privy Council as, added to those

who are now at Brighton, would form the necessary number, will attend your Majesty's commands.

Earl Grey is happy to inform your Majesty that the letters received this morning from Sir H. Bouverie and the Magistrates give a better account of the state of things in the manufacturing districts near Manchester. The letters from Ireland are unfortunately not of so favourable a description. The Marquis of Anglesey, from whom letters have been received after his arrival at Holyhead, was to make his entry into Dublin to-day.

Earl Grey has further to inform your Majesty that, upon further consideration, it has been thought better not to extend the adjournment of the Two Houses beyond Thursday, 4th February.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 26.

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 24, 1830.

The King has received Earl Grey's letter of yesterday, and assures him that he considers that no Officer of the Royal Navy can be better qualified than Captain Duncan for the office of Storekeeper of the Ordnance.

His Majesty is not surprised that his confidential servants should, with reference to the present internal state of the United Kingdoms, have come to the resolution of submitting to the King that the Militia should be immediately embodied, and that encouragement should be given to the increase of the Yeomanry force. His Majesty is aware that the number of the former,

which requires to be completed by ballot, is about 10,000; and he trusts that the measure now contemplated will have, with the recruiting of the Army, the effect of giving employment to a portion of the misguided individuals who may probably require only a better direction to become useful and loyal subjects.

His Majesty will hold the Council here on Monday, at such hour as may suit Earl Grey after eleven. The Privy Councillors here are Lord Holland, the Duke of Sussex, and Lord John Townshend. Four more will, therefore, be required.

The King regrets that the reports from Ireland continue unsatisfactory. Those from the manufacturing districts, however disagreeable, have at no time occasioned to His Majesty the same uneasiness as those from some other quarters.

WILLIAM R.

No. 27.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 24, 1830.

My dear Lord,—The King having replied fully to the letter which your Lordship addressed to him yesterday, I have only, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, to acquaint your Lordship that he will be glad if you and those other Members of the Privy Council who may come from London on Monday will dine with him; and that he can lodge your Lordship and one more at the Pavilion, should you stay the night, which His Majesty recommends your doing at this season.

The King, before he had received your Lordship's letter, had ordered me to state his wish that you would consider of the propriety and practicability of altering the Act of Parliament which affects Officers on half-pay holding situations in his household, so as to relieve them from, what appears to His Majesty, so unjust a penalty upon acceptance of marks of his personal favour; but as you will have the opportunity of communicating verbally with His Majesty upon this point, your Lordship may possibly consider it more advisable to drop the question until then, and I merely mention this to prepare you for it.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 28.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Dec. 25, 1830.

My dear Lord,—In consequence of the intention of embodying the Militia, I take the liberty of communicating *privately*, for your Lordship's consideration, a paper drawn up by Major-General Sir Richard Jackson, the Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and the copy of a letter from myself to Sir Robert Peel, on the same subject. You will observe that they (Sir R. Jackson's at least) are applicable chiefly to a period of war, but still there are parts which may be deserving of attention at present.

I do not send them to Lord Melbourne, as Sir Richard Jackson very properly considers that he should have Lord Hill's sanction for bringing forward anything.

If your Lordship should deem this suggestion useful, I can return them to him, and desire him to give them to Lord Hill.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 29.

Earl Grey to The King.

Downing Street, Dec. 30, 1830.

Earl Grey has the honour of submitting to your Majesty the Minute of the Proceedings of a Meeting of your Majesty's servants, held to-day at the Foreign Office.

The alarming nature of the accounts from Ireland could leave no doubt as to the necessity of providing, by the most effectual measures, for any exigency that may arise; but, upon the most material points referred to in the annexed minute, private communications have already been made to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, both by Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne.

Lord Grey has the greatest satisfaction in adding, that the accounts received to-day from Manchester and the neighbouring district, as well as from other parts of the country, afford an increased hope that obedience to the laws, and consequent tranquillity, may soon be re-established.

(Enclosure in No. 29.)

PRESENT :

The Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Carlisle.
Earl Grey.
Viscount Palmerston.
Viscount Goderich.

Lord Holland.
Viscount Althorp.
Sir James Graham.
The Right Hon. C. Grant.

That, with a view to having such a disposable force as circumstances may require, it is necessary to render the Militia efficient with as little delay as possible. That, for this purpose, instructions should be sent to the Lords-Lieutenants of counties to proceed with a ballot without loss of time; and that, in the meantime, the staff and quota of the Militia now liable to serve, should be called out for the purpose of immediate training.

That instructions be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant sanctioning his proposal to set on foot corps of Yeomanry, avoiding, as much as possible, in the measures necessary for this purpose, any thing that may tend to revive or to prolong religious animosities and distinctions.

That, at the same time, it should be recommended to His Majesty's Government in Ireland, to take into their immediate consideration, and submit to His Majesty's Cabinet, such measures as may appear to be required for the removal of any grievances, either in the actual state of the law, or in the mode of its administration, which may afford just cause of complaint.

That, in particular, immediate attention should be paid to the state of education in Ireland, with a view to the remedy of any defects in the system now existing for that purpose, and to the introduction of such improvements as may appear expedient.

That it be further recommended to the Government of Ireland, to consider and report upon the expediency of discontinuing the present appointment of Governors in the counties, and substituting Lords-Lieutenants, as is now practised in England, in their stead.

No. 30.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Dec. 30, 1830.

My dear Lord,—Your Lordship will, I hope, forgive my troubling you with a few remarks or suggestions on the subject of the augmentation of our Military force, either for internal security, or foreign purposes, as circumstances may require, the official situation which I held during nearly ten years having directed my attention to the question at various times and in various shapes.

I am ignorant to what extent it may be in contemplation to increase the military means, either by calling out the Militia partially, or by any addition to the Regular force; but I am convinced that the latter would be, not only the most efficient, but the cheapest; and it would have the advantage of being applicable to all purposes.

The actual establishment of our regiments of Infantry of the Line is 740 rank and file. The effectives had been lowered to 660; and the difference to be made up by recruiting is 6,720 upon 84 battalions (regiments in India not being included), besides a few hundreds to complete the Guards. This has been ordered and is in progress, and I will suppose the regiments to be complete to that establishment. The 84 battalions might be augmented to 1,000 rank and file each, which would give a total addition of 21,840 rank and file in the Line; and the Guards to 100 per company, 672 rank and file in the Guards; total, 22,512; without adding an officer, or any additional regimental

staff, as the actual proportion of officers would be sufficient, if effective. All that would be required would be one additional sergeant and one corporal per company. Whereas the same number of Militia, forming at least 28 regiments, would require 84 field-officers, 280 captains, 560 subalterns, besides regimental staff of various descriptions, and a large proportion of sergeants, drummers, &c. The expense would be at least one-third more for the same number of firelocks, and the force would not be so efficient, nor so generally available.

I am aware that there may be objections to any augmentation of the Regular Army, which do not apply to the embodying the Militia in whole or in part; but I felt it to be my duty to state the relative advantages and cost; and although it may not be possible or expedient to take the question into consideration, as it applies to the English Militia, it may be deserving of attention with reference to the Irish Militia, especially as these are not raised by ballot, but are recruited; and as the formation of them may require as much time as would the raising nearly the same number of men for the Line, the Militia of Ireland being, as far as I recollect, somewhat more than 20,000 men. It is obvious that, in point of expense, efficiency, and general utility, an augmentation of 20,000 men to the Regular regiments would be far preferable to the embodying 20,000 Irish Militia into regiments; and there may be many other reasons which would render it a preferable measure.

I have thus ventured to submit these ideas for your Lordship's consideration, and I beg to add that I should

not have done so, if I had not reason to believe that Lord Hill and the other military authorities would be found to concur in opinion, that the augmentation to the Line might be effected as I have suggested.

I have only further to request that your Lordship will not take the trouble of replying to this letter.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 31.

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Dec. 31, 1830.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's letter of yesterday enclosing a Minute of Cabinet.

His Majesty approves of all that is therein proposed, being satisfied that the accounts from Ireland and the general aspect of affairs fully justify his Government in taking, with the least possible delay, such measures as shall place at its disposal a force applicable to any exigency; and that it is not less essential to show a determination to maintain the peace of the country and to enforce obedience to the laws.

The King trusts that the Lords-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of counties will be cautioned to scrutinise the ballots for the Militia as far as possible, so as to endeavour to exclude from its ranks men of dangerous and designing character, whose influence might prove very pernicious upon newly established corps, and before they shall have acquired habits of discipline and subordination. This caution appears to His Majesty the more important, as he fears that what

is left of the staffs of the Militia will, after a lapse of fifteen years, prove in many instances very incapable and inefficient.

His Majesty approves of the instructions to be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, relative to calling into service corps of Yeomanry, and to the other essential objects noticed in the Minute of Cabinet; and he is glad to find that his confidential servants have adopted the suggestion conveyed by His Majesty to Earl Grey and to Viscount Melbourne, to recommend to the Government of Ireland to consider the expediency of substituting for the present appointments of Governors of counties, Lords-Lieutenants, as in England.

The King rejoices with Earl Grey in the favourable character of the recent reports from the manufacturing districts and other parts of England; and His Majesty has no doubt that perseverance in the firm and energetic course now pursuing will extricate these kingdoms from every difficulty and danger with which they are threatened.

WILLIAM R.

No. 32.

• *Earl Grey to The King.*

Downing Street, Jan. 11, 1831.

Knowing that your Majesty had been regularly apprised from the Home and Foreign Offices, of everything that it was necessary to communicate to your Majesty, with respect to those affairs which in our foreign relations, and in the circumstances both of Ireland and of this country, were of the most pressing

interest, Earl Grey has forbore to trouble your Majesty with unnecessary letters; nor would he now have ventured to intrude upon your Majesty, had he not been apprehensive that your Majesty might be surprised at his continued silence.

Several Cabinets have been held, at which no formal resolutions have been taken, and which, relating chiefly to the negotiations respecting Belgium, and the proceedings of the Special Commission, will have been known in their results to your Majesty.

The private letters which have been received by Earl Grey from the Marquis of Anglesey add nothing to the information which has been more fully communicated to Lord Melbourne in his dispatches. They evince the same determination to maintain the dignity of your Majesty's crown, and the authority of your Government, by the adoption of the most vigorous measures, where they may be required, under the guidance of a due discretion. For the general conduct of your Majesty's Government, in this respect, Earl Grey cannot help anticipating your Majesty's most gracious approbation.

As it appears to be more agreeable to Sir John Byng to retain the command in Ireland till the expiration of the term at which such appointments have not unfrequently been changed, Lord Anglesey has been unwilling to press his resignation till the month of June. This might render it difficult for Sir Hussey Vivian to vacate his seat for Windsor at an earlier period, without having it to assign as a reason for doing so, that the duties of his new situation would be incompatible with the due performance of those with which he is charged as a Member of Parliament. To obviate this difficulty, it has

been proposed that Sir Hussey Vivian should be immediately appointed a Lieutenant-General on the Staff in Ireland, with the assurance that the chief command will devolve upon him on the resignation of Sir John Byng. In the meantime his services as an experienced officer at the head of the Cavalry may be of great importance to the public service in any exigency that the state of Ireland may produce. Earl Grey has consulted Lord Hill on the propriety of this arrangement ; and, if your Majesty has no objection to it, it will be made. Presuming that this may be sanctioned by your Majesty, Sir H. Vivian will be enabled to vacate his seat at the meeting of Parliament (as a new writ could not be issued during the Adjournment, it might be inconvenient that this should be done sooner), and Mr. Stanley, under your Majesty's gracious permission, may then be elected without further delay.

Earl Grey cannot conclude without praying your Majesty's indulgence for this long and perhaps not very necessary intrusion.

Your Majesty's servants are assiduously occupied in the preparation of the measures which it will be necessary to propose to Parliament ; and which, so soon as they are sufficiently matured, Earl Grey will have the honour of submitting to your Majesty's consideration.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 33.

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Jan. 12, 1831.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's letter of yesterday, and assures him of his entire approbation of the arrangement proposed for placing Lieutenant-General Sir Hussey Vivian at once upon the Staff in Ireland, with a view to his succeeding Sir John Byng in the command of the troops there in June next. The former may thus vacate his seat at the meeting of Parliament, and Mr. Stanley may then be brought in for Windsor.

His Majesty is too sensible of Earl Grey's invariable attention to have felt surprised at not having recently received any communications from him, nor does His Majesty expect that he should address any to him unless Earl Grey should have occasion to do so upon questions and matters to which, as the head of the Government, he shall consider it necessary and expedient that he should more particularly call His Majesty's attention.

The King has been fully and regularly apprised of all that has been transacted in the various departments of the Government; and he has great pleasure in repeating to Earl Grey the assurance which he has, from time to time, given to Viscount Melbourne and to Viscount Palmerston, of his approbation of the measures which have been determined upon by his confidential servants, with respect to the domestic and external policy of the country, and of the satisfaction he has derived from the firmness and consistency of those

measures, and the determination thereby manifested to maintain the dignity of the Crown and the authority of the Government at home, and to persevere in those efforts to which Europe has been hitherto mainly indebted for the preservation of peace.

The King cannot state this generally without expressing to Earl Grey more particularly, the confidence which His Majesty reposes in his integrity, his judgment and decision, and in his experience; and without assuring him that the manner in which he has discharged the duties of the important situation which His Majesty called upon him to fill, has amply realised the expectations which he had formed. His Majesty is satisfied that he may rely upon Earl Grey's strenuous support in his determination to resist all attempts which may be made to sap the established rights of the Crown, and to destroy those institutions under which this country has so long prospered, while others have been suffering so severely from the effects of revolutionary projects, and from the admission of what are called Radical remedies.

WILLIAM R.

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No. 34.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Jan. 12, 1831.

My dear Lord,—I have had the honour to submit to the King your Lordship's letter of yesterday, as well as the enclosure which I beg to return.

Your Lordship may feel perfectly at your ease with regard to the interpretation put by His Majesty upon

your silence, which had been accidentally longer than usual, as it is impossible for any person to be more satisfied than His Majesty is of your attention to him in the widest sense of the word; and he showed some anxiety that this should be strongly expressed in his answer to your Lordship's letter as well as his appro-

attaches the greatest importance to your Lordship's services at the head of his Government at this critical period, when he considers that the interests of the monarchy and the ancient institutions of the country would be in jeopardy, unless every exertion be made to uphold and maintain them. Your Lordship may indeed have drawn this inference from His Majesty's letters to yourself and to Lord Melbourne, and from the unequivocal desire he has shown to give the full weight of his name and influence in aid of your administration. I hope you will not think that I am exceeding the bounds of discretion in writing to your Lordship in these terms, or that I am guilty of any breach of that confidence which His Majesty is pleased to repose in me. I assure you that I should not feel the least objection to His Majesty's knowing that I have written this letter, or to his seeing it; but your Lordship will oblige me by considering it as addressed to yourself only.

The King has been pleased and amused at Hunt's failure, and hopes he may look upon it as a sign that the Radical mania is subsiding generally. The success in recruiting is satisfactory, considering that the detached parties of many corps had not reached their stations.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 35.

Earl Grey to the King.

Downing Street, Jan. 12, 1831.

Earl Grey has the honour of informing your Majesty, that he has this morning received a letter from

the Lord Chief Baron of your Majesty's Court of Exchequer, requesting him to submit to your Majesty, his resignation of that office, and his application for the allowance of the usual pension.

Presuming on your Majesty's acquiescence in this request, Earl Grey ventures humbly to submit to your Majesty, having had the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, that your Majesty's service cannot be more effectually promoted than by the appointment of Lord Lyndhurst to succeed to the office of Lord Chief Baron; which he trusts your Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve.

At a meeting of your Majesty's servants, it has been resolved to recommend to your Majesty's royal mercy, all the convicts left for execution at Winchester, with the exception of Cooper and Cook, the one having been proved to have been an active leader in the outrages which took place in Hampshire, and the other guilty of conduct marked by great personal violence.

No letters have been received to-day from any of the members of your Majesty's Government in Ireland; but Earl Grey grieves to add, that there are accounts of two fires in Wiltshire, one of which is supposed to have been occasioned by malice, the person whose property was destroyed having been a witness on one of the trials at Salisbury.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 36.

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Jan. 13, 1831.

The King has received Earl Grey's letter of yesterday, enclosing one from the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer containing the resignation of his office. His Majesty accepts it, and sanctions the grant to him of the usual pension. He also approves of the appointment of Lord Lyndhurst to the office of Lord Chief Baron.

WILLIAM R.

No. 37.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

(Private.)

Downing Street, Jan. 13, 1831.

My dear Sir,—Nothing could be more gratifying to me than the King's letter of yesterday, and the private one by which it was accompanied from yourself: the latter you may be assured that I shall regard as strictly confidential.

The news from Ireland, as you will see by Lord Anglesey's and Mr. Stanley's letters, might be of a more pleasant description; but I feel a considerable confidence in our power to overcome all these difficulties, with a due mixture of prudence and resolution. The King's anxieties are reasonably directed to what may happen in Parliament. It is impossible for anybody to speak with confidence of the restoration of the influence and authority of the Government in the House of Commons. Much must be conceded to public

opinion, and more perhaps may be forced upon us ; but with such concessions as may satisfy all reasonable people, I will not abandon the hope of a successful resistance to all attempts inconsistent with the real security of the Government. The perilous question is that of Parliamentary Reform, and, as I approach it, the more I feel all its difficulty. With the universal feeling that prevails on this subject, it is impossible to avoid doing something ; and not to do enough to satisfy public expectation (I mean the satisfaction of the rational public) would be worse than to do nothing. We are now occupied with the details of this measure, and I hope before long to be able to submit it to His Majesty. If what we shall have to propose shall obtain His Majesty's sanction, I should have little fear of carrying it through Parliament with the general approbation of the public, though not of the Radicals, whom nothing would satisfy but the complete adoption of their own extravagant and mischievous projects. If we should fail in this, I see nothing before me but an alternative of the most afflicting nature.

I am, &c.

GREY.

No. 38.

Earl Grey to the King.

Downing Street, Jan. 13, 1831.

Earl Grey feels that he would be wanting in the attention and gratitude due from him to your Majesty, if he were to delay offering to your Majesty his humble acknowledgments of the condescension and

kindness manifested in your Majesty's most gracious letter of yesterday. To endeavour to deserve your Majesty's confidence and approbation, Earl Grey must ever consider as his first duty; and to have received so gratifying an exposition of them, is his best reward.

Earl Grey has the honour of enclosing for your Majesty's information two letters which he has this morning received from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and from Lord Ponsonby. The accounts contained in the first are certainly of a very distressing nature; and it probably may become necessary, not only to renew the Proclamation Act, which expires at the conclusion of this session, but to consider of the means of arming your Majesty's Government with further powers to repress the violence which Mr. O'Connell and his partisans are daily exciting.

If Lord Ponsonby's opinion of the increasing strength of the party of the Prince of Orange be correct, it is to be hoped that a beneficial effect may be produced by the letter which was sent yesterday by His Royal Highness as a declaration of the principles on which he would conduct the government, if it should be committed to his hands. But of everything relating to this matter, your Majesty will of course receive full communication from Lord Palmerston.

Earl Grey is persuaded that the establishment of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands, to whatever inconvenience it may be subject, would now be, upon the whole, the easiest and most satisfactory solution of the difficulties which embarrass the election of a new sovereign.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 39.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Jan. 14, 1831.

My dear Lord,—I have the honour to enclose the King's answer to your Lordship's letter, and to acquaint you that I have considered it my duty to submit to His Majesty the whole of yours to me, convinced, as I am, that its contents could not prove otherwise than satisfactory to him, and particularly interesting, from the direct reference to the 'perilous' question of Parliamentary Reform. I need not tell your Lordship that it is that to which His Majesty more particularly alluded in recent communications, and that to which I adverted when I mentioned that he looked with uneasiness to the approaching proceedings in Parliament. His Majesty is not surprised that your Lordship should approach it with dread; that you should feel all its difficulties: nor is His Majesty blind or indifferent to public feeling, or to public expectation; but he believes these to be overrated by those who are such strenuous advocates for the measure of Parliamentary Reform—so eagerly bent upon carrying it, as to overlook all the objections and difficulties to which it is liable, and the danger attendant upon its agitation when there is so much of excitement and revolutionary feeling abroad, and when the general state of the country, its domestic and foreign contingencies require a strong Government, and one that shall not be placed at the mercy of individuals whose professed object it is to reduce the power of any Government and its resources. His Majesty is satisfied that your Lordship feels all this,

and he is yet more satisfied that no one can be more strongly opposed in sentiment, in principle, in judgment, and firm solicitude for the preservation of the constitutional monarchy of this country, and for its welfare and security, to the wild and mischievous projects of the Radicals. His Majesty rests his confidence in your Lordship. He looks to you for the exertion of those high qualities which have secured to you that confidence in rescuing him from the difficulties in which His Majesty may be placed by the agitation of this perilous question ; and His Majesty authorises me to assure you, that you will find him disposed to give a reasonable and dispassionate consideration to what you may have to propose, and anxious not to embarrass you by objections which can be considered frivolous or captious, or to arise from any other feeling than that which a correct sense of his duty must suggest to him.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 40.

The King to Earl Grey.

Brighton, Jan. 14, 1831.

The King acknowledges the receipt of Earl Grey's letter transmitting those from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Ponsonby, which he returns.

His Majesty has never sought to disguise from himself the serious character of the accounts received from Ireland ; but he had flattered himself that the firmness and energy displayed by his Government, and the better feelings and good sense of those classes

which have an interest in the preservation of peace, and in the security of the country, would have opposed a more effectual check to the seditious proceedings of Mr. O'Connell and his adherents, and would ere this have had the effect of weakening his influence over those who are so strangely misled by him. Nor does His Majesty even now apprehend that such may not eventually be the case, or that the excitement which has been created in Ireland may not be got the better of without its producing violent collision. But Mr. O'Connell's obstinacy, his perseverance in mischief, and, unfortunately, his influence over a portion of the lower classes in Ireland are such, that it is impossible not to anticipate the necessity, not only of the renewal of the Proclamation Act, but also of arming the Government with further powers; and the King is inclined to admit the force of the observation, made by Lord Anglesey and Mr. Stanley, that proclamations may be so frequent as to become comparatively unimportant. Under these circumstances His Majesty conceives that his Government would be justified by what has passed, by what is notorious, and by the statement which they will be enabled to lay before Parliament, to resort even to the strong measure of proposing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The determination thus shown to face the evil in its fullest extent, and not to shrink from the responsibility attached to the exercise of so serious a power, and to its application, when it is called for and provoked by proceedings which are inconsistent with the security of the state, would, His Majesty hopes, not only go far to check the immediate mischief, but would produce a favourable impression upon the

country at large; which has, at all times, shown itself disposed to approve acts of vigour and decision in responsible authorities, when sufficient ground has been shown for them. Nor does it follow, or has any reason been given to the country to imagine, that extraordinary powers, called for by a Government which has shown so much forbearance, will not be used with moderation and discretion.

The King has observed with satisfaction in Lord Anglesey's letter the expression of a strong opinion in favour of paying the Roman Catholic Clergy, as His Majesty's sentiments have always been in support of an arrangement of this nature, if it could be introduced; and as he is convinced that the sum applied to it would be returned with interest in the influence and other advantages it would secure to the Government.

Upon the subject of the establishment of the Prince of Orange in Belgium, and the view which the King has taken of what has been done and submitted to him, His Majesty refers Earl Grey to his letter of yesterday's date to Viscount Palmerston; and he will be very glad to learn that his opinion of the importance of annexing the Duchy of Luxemburg to Belgium, when placed under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, has met with Earl Grey's concurrence. WILLIAM R.

No. 41.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Downing Street, Jan. 14, 1831.

My dear Sir,—I last night received your letter enclosing one from the King, containing His Majesty's

acceptance of the resignation of the Chief Baron, his approbation of the grant of the usual pension and of the appointment of Lord Lyndhurst, with respect to which all necessary measures have been taken. I cannot help enclosing for your private information an anonymous letter,* which I received last night. It would not have obtained from me more attention than other anonymous letters, had I not heard of a conversation, exactly corresponding with it, which had been held at the Speaker's, in a party at which Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore Hook were present. It had also been reported to me, that several times there had appeared in 'John Bull,' a paper which I never see, details respecting the arrangements that were going on, which could not have been obtained except from persons who had accurate information respecting them. With this paper Mr. Hook is said to be connected: Mr. Croker is also said to write in it.

I am quite sure that the King would not allow of any such communications if he had the least suspicion of them; and I should hope that no persons in the situations of Sir W. Fremantle and Sir A. Barnard could

* Though this letter refers to an offensive and unfounded imputation upon two highly honourable men, I have not omitted it from the correspondence, because it appears from the subsequent letters that this imputation was refuted to my father's complete satisfaction; while the anonymous letter in which it was contained, and the explanation that letter called forth, are of importance as showing both the jealousy and suspicion not unnaturally felt by the supporters of the Government, of the many adherents of the opposite party who were about the Court, and also how fairly and honourably the King acted towards his Ministers. In retaining about his person those to whose society he was used, notwithstanding their political opinions, it will be seen that he took care not to allow this to interfere with his giving his full support to his Government.

be capable of the conduct imputed to them. But the circumstances attending this report are certainly somewhat extraordinary, and have induced me to entrust to you confidentially the statement as I have received it. In a case between equals I certainly should at once submit to the person, whose confidence might have been stated to be abused, the statement as I had received it, leaving it to him to do whatever might appear to him to be required upon it. But I feel that it would be improper for me, in every view that I can take of it, to trouble the King on such a matter. Perhaps I ought to add, that the conversation at the Speaker's was reported to me by Sir James Graham, to whom it had come from a person who was present. The accompanying book was brought to me to-day by M. de Choiseul, who came over with Charles X., and remains in town for the purpose of any communications that may be necessary with the Government. He says it was written under the eye of Charles X. He left with me, some time ago, a letter of introduction from the Duke of Wellington, but I had not seen him before.

I am, &c.

GREY.

(Enclosure in No. 41.)

London, Jan. 12, 1831.

My Lord,—Your Lordship ought to know that two members of the King's household (Sir W. Fremantle and Sir A. Barnard) are in *constant communication* with Messrs. Croker and Hook; and that everything going on in the King's family, or court, is made known to

these editors of 'John Bull.' It is a matter of surprise to many of your Lordship's old friends and supporters, that you should for one moment suffer such proceedings to go on, and that you should not have removed such persons from the household. Believe me, my Lord, that it is not safe, or reputable to your Government, to allow the persons alluded to, and such as them, to continue in office.

This hint is meant in the greatest kindness, every word of which I can prove.

Your sincere admirer,

AN OLD FOXITE.

No. 42.

Sir H. Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Jan. 15, 1831.

My dear Lord,—I beg to return the anonymous letter which your Lordship entrusted to me in your letter of yesterday, and to express my conviction that there is no foundation for what is therein stated, and that the Old Foxite is upon the wrong scent in ascribing to Sir Andrew Barnard and Sir William Fremantle the communication of anything to Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore Hook, which might not be published anywhere. I have indeed never heard of them being much acquainted, or having more intercourse with them than I have myself, which amounts to nothing; and from long and intimate acquaintance with both Sir William Fremantle and Sir Andrew Barnard, I should consider either extremely unlikely to talk out of school, even if they had anything essential to tell. Sir William Fre-

mantle has been, during a great part of his life, in habits of attendance upon, and communication with, the Royal Family ; and I have never heard him accused of indiscretion, or traced anything to him ; nor is he an eager politician. He has not been here during this visit of His Majesty to Brighton, and he was *here* during a considerable part of His Majesty's last residence in London. Sir Andrew Barnard is one of the most gallant and efficient officers in the Army, highly honourable and extremely popular. He is much in society, and his pursuits are those of cheerful society ; but I believe him to be quite indifferent with respect to politics. I never hear him touch upon that topic, and much of his time here is taken up with the Queen's Band, of which he has undertaken the direction. I have indeed known him on service, in the late King's family and here, and have always considered him remarkable for his discretion and for his extreme caution as to interfering in any business not his own. I have no doubt he may be in the habit of meeting Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore Hook, but I should very much doubt his mentioning what passes here unless it be connected with his *pet band*. I may add that I generally frank his letters, as well as Sir William Fremantle's when here, and should therefore be aware of any active correspondence with Mr. Hook. But, after all, there never was any Court from which and of which so little could be told, which every servant in the house, from the highest to the lowest, might not tell. Their Majesties are accessible at all hours ; the apartments are open to everyone ; there is no seclusion, no mystery, nothing to conceal. The King sees numbers of persons in the course of the day,

and converses freely with them upon subjects on which they may give him information ; but I am confident that, although he may listen to them, he never converses upon any matter which may be the subject of communication with his Government, or respecting ministerial or official arrangements in contemplation. Politics are never the subject of conversation at dinner, or at the evening parties ; indeed, His Majesty professes not to allow it, and he never touches on the subject with the Queen, who indeed does not seem at all disposed to break through a rule so essential in such a society, and whose superior judgment and good sense would induce her to feel its importance, and to discourage any departure from it in others : even common articles of intelligence are not noticed otherwise than as conveyed in the newspapers. I have troubled your Lordship with these particulars, and more at length than may appear necessary, as I wished to put you in full possession of the course of things here upon a point to which you must naturally attach so much importance, especially when the Court circle and society are so extended and indiscriminate ; and you will easily conclude, from all I have said, that the anonymous letter has surprised me. It has, however, produced suspicions which may be wholly unfounded, and which I therefore beg to communicate very confidentially. Your Lordship will, I am certain, rather give me credit for than blame my anxiety to satisfy your mind upon this subject ; and I should feel much obliged to you if you would allow me to say to Sir A. Barnard and Sir W. Fremantle, that I have received or seen such a letter, without giving them any hint to whom it was addressed.

I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for sending me the French pamphlet, which I shall read with great interest and safely return to you. The King is not likely to peruse it, but I should think the Queen would like to do so.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

P.S. I had almost forgotten to mention that, just before Their Majesties left Brighton in October last, I received an anonymous letter, stating that Mr. * * * *, the editor of the * * *, then here, had boasted at a dinner that I was in constant communication with him, verbal and epistolary, and that he received from me intelligence of all that passed at court. I had been unfortunately concerned with Mr. * * * * in the business of * * * ; and had formerly seen and written to him on that subject; but I had avoided *all* communication with him since I came into my present situation, and had carried on such as was indispensable through my solicitor, Mr. Parkinson. I sent the latter a copy of the anonymous letter for the information of Mr. * * * *, who of course denied the truth of what it stated, and desired to see me; for which he made various attempts. But I declined the interview, as well as further written communications, upon the plea that, whether the charge in question was founded or unfounded, I had determined to hold no communication with the editor of a newspaper.

No. 43.

Earl Grey to the King.

Downing Street, Jan. 15, 1831.

Earl Grey has the honour of acknowledging your Majesty's letter of yesterday.

Earl Grey felt the greatest satisfaction and comfort in finding that your Majesty's sentiments with respect to what is passing in Ireland, and in the negotiations respecting the Netherlands, so entirely sanction those which he had himself entertained.

However painful the recourse to such a measure may be, it is impossible not to contemplate the necessity of proposing to Parliament a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, if the exercise of the powers now possessed by the Government should be found inefficient for the security of the former country. To attach the Irish priesthood to the Government by the ties of a common interest is also an object which their payment alone affords a reasonable hope of obtaining. An arrangement of this kind demands an early attention, and not the less because it is surrounded by considerable difficulties. Earl Grey had already stated to the Prince of Orange how much the settlement of the Netherlands would be assisted by the union of the Duchy of Luxemburg, saving the rights of the Germanic Confederation to that kingdom. Earl Grey repeated the same thing to His Royal Highness this morning, when he had another interview with him. But your Majesty is aware of the difficulties that have arisen in all the negotiations with the King of the Netherlands on this subject; and the Prince did not conceal his opinion, that

there would be little chance of obtaining His Majesty's consent to such a cession of the Duchy.

All which, &c.

GREY.

No. 44.

Earl Grey to Sir H. Taylor.

Downing Street, Jan. 15, 1831.

My dear Sir,—I have to offer you my best thanks for your letter of yesterday accompanying the King's. With the exception of what related to this matter, there was nothing in my letter to you which I could feel any objection in your placing before His Majesty, though perhaps it might have been more cautiously worded. Nothing can be more gratifying than the cordial expression of the confidence which His Majesty is so graciously pleased to place in me. It is my most anxious wish to prove that I am not altogether unworthy of it. But I fear he may think the view I take of such a measure as may be proposed with advantage on the subject of Parliamentary Reform too extensive. I have already expressed my opinion, that any measure for this purpose, to be useful, must be effectual. Anything that was not so would only leave a feeling of discontent, which would press for further concessions. The great desideratum therefore is, to make an arrangement on which we can stand, announcing our determination not to go beyond it. But to gain such a position our ground must be well and strongly taken. I am myself convinced that public opinion is so strongly directed to this question, and so general, that it cannot be resisted.

without the greatest danger of leaving the Government in a situation in which it would be deprived of all authority and strength. Under this impression I must naturally feel the greatest anxiety on a subject, which it is plain that His Majesty contemplates with so much apprehension and uneasiness. I am sensible, moreover, of all the disadvantage of entering upon the discussion of such a question, in a moment of so much difficulty and danger. It has often been my wish to find the means of postponing it. But the result of all my consideration has been, that an attempt to do so would be fatal to the character of the Government, and would lead to its dissolution under circumstances still more disastrous than those which would follow such a result, if His Majesty were unfortunately compelled, by a sense of duty, to withhold his assent from the measure which may be submitted to him by his Ministers.

I have written amidst too many interruptions and too hastily to enter fully into all the views presented by this important subject. But I was anxious to return an answer to your letter, and to put you in possession generally of my feelings upon it.

I am, &c.

GREY.

No. 45.

Sir Herbert Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Jan. 16, 1831.

My dear Lord,—I have had the honour of communicating your Lordship's letter of yesterday to the King, who ordered me to acquaint you, that he has taken extreme interest in the correspondence which has passed

on the subject of Reform in Parliament, and all that is connected therewith ; and that it has been satisfactory to him to have thus early learnt your Lordship's feelings upon the general question, before he was called upon to take it into more formal consideration : That it had naturally engaged his anxious thoughts and attention ; and that he wished, as far as possible, to relieve his mind from the impressions made by early prejudices, and from the apprehensions raised by the opinions and reports occasionally conveyed to him, which might be more or less erroneous and unfounded. Your Lordship's communications have gone far to allay these apprehensions ; they have proved in general satisfactory to His Majesty ; and they have prepared his mind for the cool and deliberate consideration of the question, and for the discussion of its details.

His Majesty has authorised me to say, that he had felt convinced that your Lordship would have postponed the question if you could have done so, and that he is satisfied of the correctness of your judgment in not attempting it. That he agrees with you that the measure, to be useful, and to be secured, on its introduction, against a feeling of discontent which would press for further concessions, must be effectual ; and aware as His Majesty is of the nature and extent of the concessions which some of the advocates for Parliamentary Reform are disposed to call for ; and sensible as he is of the confusion and destruction by which they would be followed, His Majesty feels the importance of introducing the measure, if it must be introduced, as a measure of the Government, divested, as far as it may be possible, of all that is calculated to deprive the Monarchy

of its legitimate rights and attributes, in its immediate or *progressive* operation, to cramp the exercise of the executive powers and functions of the Government, and to weaken the influence of the Aristocracy so essential to the maintenance of both. His Majesty is unwilling to anticipate the details of the measure further than to observe, that a strong ground of objection would, in his view of it, be removed, if it be not intended to propose that the duration of the period for which Members are returned shall be abridged, or that the number of Members be increased.

The King trusts that the sentiments which he has authorised me to express are neither unconstitutional nor arbitrary ; and that they do not betray anything like obstinate adherence to prejudices which would be ill-suited to the times and to the circumstances under which he has been called to the sovereignty of this country.

I have, &c.

H. TAYLOR.

No. 40.

Sir Herbert Taylor to Earl Grey.

(Private.)

Brighton, Jan. 16, 1831.

My dear Lord,—I take the liberty of enclosing to your Lordship a letter, which General Wheatley has received from Mr. Dickie, and its enclosure, and of submitting for your consideration, whether, as the money therein mentioned had accrued previous to His Majesty's declaration to Parliament abandoning the hereditary rights from which it proceeds, His Majesty may not